DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 096 034 RC 008 061

AUTHOR	Wahab, Zaher
TITLE	The Mexican American Child and the Public School.
PUB DATE	Dec 72
NOTE	350p.; Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.75 HC-$16.20 PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	*Acculturation; Attitudes; Change Strategies; Community Involvement; Educational Research; Human Services; Institutional Role; Majority Attitudes; *Mexican Americans; *Public Schools; *Relevance (Education); *Sociocultural Patterns
IDENTIFIERS	*Chicanos

ABSTRACT

Primarily a study in the anthropology of education, the paper examines: (1) an institution charged with the task of cultural transmission, (2) the immediate sociocultural context of the school, and (3) some major sociocultural phenomena and processes both within the school and the community. This 1970 cultural transition study investigates the processes of the acculturation of Mexican American (or Chicano) children to the prevailing white middle class sociocultural system in the U.S. The public school as a formal means of cultural transition is a particular focus and the Coyote Elementary School (fictitious name) as a subsystem of the multiracial and multicultural town of Hidalgo (also fictitious) is the site. The various chapters cover: (1) research problems and methodology; (2) the sociocultural milieu of Coyote Elementary School; (3) social, cultural, religious, educational, and health institutions in Hidalgo; (4) an overview of Coyote Elementary School which generally focuses on services; (5) professional and human relations at the school; (6) teacher and staff attitudes toward Chicano students; and (7) a closer look at the school, which includes grade level organization, staff structure and organization, and teaching methods. Overall recommendations include the development of compensatory education programs for culturally different and low income children; institutional changes; and work on changing people's attitudes, values, and on creating a more humane society. (KM)

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THE MEXICAN AMERICAN CHILD AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDIES
OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In writing this dissertation I have incurred many debts to many individuals which I must acknowledge. I would like to extend my deep and sincere gratitude especially to the following people: to Professor G. D. Spindler, for his inspiration, criticism, and feedback, even while he was thousands of miles away; to Professor J. C. Bock, for his long conversations, guidance, and moral support; to Professor D. Walker, for his quick and careful reading, his criticism, his suggestions, and his patience; to Professor E. G. Cohen, as an unofficial adviser, for her concern, her very thorough reading, her precise and valuable comments which "hit the nail on the head," her understanding, and other help which does not fit any category, but which certainly helped a lot; and to Dr. S. R. Molnar, for her advice, her patient listening, and her sympathy throughout the dissertation work.

Certainly, all the children, women, and men at Coyote Elementary School and in Hidalgo deserve my deepest appreciation for their time, patience, information, and assistance in carrying out this study. In particular, my appreciation goes to the Coyote School principal who facilitated the progress of the study a great deal, and who gave much of his time and advice on numerous occasions.

I would also like to thank Lawrence Bezeau for his invaluable assistance with the data analysis in the study; Mrs. J. Edwards for typing so quickly and so well the final copy of this dissertation;

Jo-Ann Intili for her tremendous help in more areas than can be enumerated; and my family for their ever-present support which has enabled me to achieve my highest educational goals.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Prologue

This is a study in cultural transmission. It is descriptive as well as analytical. Because of the several facets of the study, an interdisciplinary approach to the problems under investigation was necessary. The study utilizes the concepts and methodologies of anthropology, sociology, and education, though it may be considered a study in the anthropology of education. The reader is advised to keep this eclecticism in mind throughout his or her reading of this study.

This is a study of changing individuals and groups; it is also a study of an institution (Coyote[1] Elementary School) charged with the task of cultural transmission; and it is a study of the immediate socio-cultural context of the school (Hidalgo[2] township); and finally, it is a study of some major socio-cultural phenomena and processes both within the school and the community as they interact upon each other. It is a study of children which include those who were "born in a car"; whose "father is in jail"; who "don't have a father"; who shared a small substandard house with 21 other persons; who went to school without breakfast or proper clothes; and of children some of whom did not know any English and came from a drastically different subculture (i.e. the Mexican American subculture and/or that of rural Mexico), and who had to struggle in order to survive in the school.

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[1] Coyote is the fictitious name given to the elementary school in the community to preserve its anonymity.

[2] Hidalgo is the fictitious name given to the town in order to preserve its anonymity.

It is also a study of the school personnel who were by and large dedicated, conscientious, hard working, and well-meaning; but who seemed to be ill-prepared to deal effectively with the particular challenge they were facing. It is a study of a school staff/faculty who appeared to be mostly victimized by their own ethno-racial and educational background. It is a study of school personnel who had to spend a great deal of their time and energies on numerous menial and extra-educational tasks at the school. And it is a study of school adults who had to survive within and cope with an establishment (both societal and educational) over which they had little or no control at all.

Hidalgo is virtually a Mexican American barrio. It is characterized by exceptionally high unemployment, welfarism, drug abuse and alcoholism, family disorganization, factionalism and hostilities, gossip and rumor, envy, poverty, disease, illiteracy, unpaved streets, substandard homes, physical-psychological-sociocultural isolation, harrassment and apparent negligence by the power structure. It is a community surrounded by garbage dumps, stagnant water, and junk yards. One might say that the town is not being left to die, but is being killed; there are actual efforts to uproot its inhabitants and pave it over. Total redevelopment may seem to be the only solution to the myriad problems this community encounters. The town, in fact, is partly a product of such renewal-redevelopment projects. However the town came to be, its residents (who are mostly low-income Mexican Americans) find security and identity in living there, regardless of what the conditions are.

Although it may appear that the town's problems are insolvable, it is nevertheless possible, given willingness and commitment, that these problems might be overcome, leaving the people to continue enjoying the security. On the other hand, if the inhabitants are displaced or dislocated, there is no guarantee that this will not lead to another Hidalgo, or other Hidalgos, created in the same way.

Preface

This study was conceived in the summer of 1970. At the time the investigator was one of the sixteen students who participated in the Spokane Area Field School in Ethnology and Linguistics, supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation, and sponsored by Washington State University and the Catholic University of America. He was placed with a lower middle class Mexican American family in a small rural town in what is called the Inland Empire in Washington. Being a student of education, he focused on the study of the Title I compensatory summer program for Mexican American children. This experience produced two major insights concerning the people of this American subculture. One was the existence of great similarities between the Mexican American subculture and the culture of his own native people in Afghanistan. The two sociocultural systems seemed to have much in common in the areas of kinship patterns, the central role of the extended family, hospitality, warmth, humaneness, marriage patterns, religiosity, male dominance, patterns of gaiety and grief, the quick resort to use of physical means for solving interpersonal conflicts, type and patterns of food consumption, etiquette and child socialization.

The second important phenomenon was the participant's awareness of the status of the Mexican American children in the public schools in America. Although relatively short, that earlier exposure, added to the experience of the present study, convinced the investigator that within the school these children might be subjected to ill-conceived attempts at assimilation, discrimination, ill-treatment, poor pedagogy, and to the probability of resultant failure (Wahab, 1971). The question was, why? Thus began a deep interest in two main areas: the education of ethnoracial minorities in a highly heterogeneous sociocultural system and the problem of pluralism within an educational system. These were the experiences and queries that provided the impetus for this study.

Making the Contact. The first step was to identify and locate an appropriate site for the study. Many inquiries were made about possible research sites, and the final decision was made in favor of Hidalgo because it met the following specifications: (1) Hidalgo is small enough both in terms of area and population to be manageable for a macroethnography. (2) It has only one school, an elementary school, which is staffed mostly by Anglos. (3) Most of its people, about 75 percent, are Mexican American. (4) It is situated on the fringes of an urban rural continuum, not really participating in the life of either.

The investigator wrote to the school's principal in early 1971, briefly explaining the purpose and methods of the study and requesting permission to do the field work in his school. He was invited for an interview with the principal, and was later granted permission for the study. The researcher started visiting the school as well as the town in June, 1971, and continued such visitation throughout that following summer, and until May, 1972. Several observation instruments for interaction analysis were pretested in the school, and data collection on the town itself was begun during that summer. Also during summer, 1971, the study was explained to a group of the school's teachers. Those concerned about the study were always told that this study was primarily a learning experience for this visitor, allowing him to see how a typical public school was run and managed in the United States. This was true, of course, but it actually constituted only half the truth. It was felt that giving details about the study might possibly affect the interactional processes in the school, and would therefore bias the results. They were told this, and it was promised that fuller details about the study and its results would be given after its completion. After the conclusion of the study, the investigator did give extensive feedback on the aims, the methodology, and the findings of the study.

The bulk of the data on the school were collected between

September 6, 1971 and March 30, 1972. The investigator spent almost every hour of his waking life during this period in the school and in the community.

Nature of the Study. This is a study in cultural transmission. It investigates the processes of the acculturation of Mexican American (or Chicano) children to the prevailing white middle class sociocultural system in the United States. The public school as a formal means of cultural transmission is a particular focus and the Coyote Elementary School as a subsystem of the multiracial and multicultural town of Hidalgo is the site.

The investigation began with the school and proceeded to observation and analysis of community life. The study of the community included those economic, racial, ethnic, religious, political, and cultural factors and institutions playing a major role in school functioning and the structuring of attitudes, expectations, and value systems of the pupils, the school personnel, and the community at large.

As Sindell (1969) points out, there can be three levels of analysis of the school-society interrelationship. The first is a macroanalysis of structural-functional relationships between school and the many social institutions which affect the classroom experience. The second area for analysis is the milieu of a particular school where one can examine the facilities, teacher-pupil interrelationships, ethnoracial composition of the school personnel, faculty-staff relationships, parental involvement in the school, availability of supportive services, and all other factors which affect the quality and quantity of education. Third is a micro-analysis of an individual classroom with attention to such matters as the social organization of the classroom, patterns of communication, the development of norms governing all interpersonal behavior in class, the variety of roles that the teacher and pupils assume, and so on. Smith and Geoffrey (1968) label this method of classroom observation as "micro-ethnography." This study attempts to combine all three approaches to the problem. It is an ambitious undertaking, but it is believed that the best way to learn about the complexities and the cultural-interactional processes is through that combined approach.

Background of the Problem

There are approximately 5.5 million Spanish speaking people in the United States (U.S. Dept. H.E.W., 1968). Of this total, 4.5 to 4.8 million are Mexican American and the rest are of Puerto Rican, Spanish, or Cuban descent. Although most of the people in this minority group were until recently rural and migratory, it is estimated that 66 percent have become urban and are living in large colonias (neighborhoods) in the South and Southwest (Dotson, 1955). Figures indicate that there are about two million Mexican American children between the ages of five and eighteen in the United States (Rodriguez, 1970). It should be pointed out, however, that the accuracy of the figures on the number of Mexican Americans is somewhat doubtful, since many referred to as "wetbacks" and "the sandpipers" are living here illegally.

Members of this ethnoracial group possess distinct physical, cultural, economic, social, and psychological characteristics and attributes setting them apart from Anglos as well as from other ethnoracial groups in the United States. Spanish speaking people are not only different from the white Anglo-Saxons or the Blacks, but there are variations among the Spanish-Americans, Mexican-Americans, Mexicans, and the Mexican subgroups themselves (Saunders, 1949). Those of Spanish colonial derivation (i.e., the New Mexico, Colorado group) are referred to as Spanish-Americans or Hispanos. Those of Mexican parentage but United States citizenship are called Mexican Americans. And those of recent immigration and Mexican citizenship are referred to as Mexicans. "Although they have much in common, these groups have important cultural and historical differences and tend to be identified with different geographic areas," (Saunders, 1949, p. 16).

The Mexican Americans do not constitute a homogeneous group, therefore. Biologically, they range from their heterogeneous Spanish antecedents to the Mestizo, resulting from the crossing of Spaniards and various indigenous people of Mexico and the Southwest. Historically, some came with Onate in 1598, others with missionaries in the 18th century. Some were part of the gold rush; others came to build the railroads; still others were brought as the "braceros" or contract laborers during and after World War I; and many entered the country illegally as the "wetbacks" or the "sandpipers."

> The group in New Mexico, in addition to long residence in one locality, possesses a deeply rooted culture and self-contained economy. They 'belong,' so to speak, to the landscape and the region, whereas those who have lived for years, even generations in Texas and California do not evidence anything like the same degree of

> cultural, social or economic solidarity (McWilliams, 1943, p. 126).

The difference is in the fact that the Spanish-Americans have remained in relatively stable and isolated groups for long periods whereas the Mexican Americans have had closer and longer contacts with Anglos. Consequently, the former has had a rural unicultural tradition while the latter has had a more or less bicultural tradition and has become more acculturated to the Anglo sociocultural system.

Moore (1970) reports that Mexican Americans do not want to be called "American." They see themselves as a distinct group with an identity and a cultural heritage. They prefer to be called "Mexican American," "Spanish American," or "Latin American." The youth movements have adopted the term "Chicano." Formerly this term, a contraction of "Mexicano," implied a lack of sophistication. This appears to be the reason that some of the older Mexican Americans reject this term. Now, however, the Mexican American youth have taken this very quality of self-depreciation and exalted it as "soul" (Moore, 1970).

Despite their differences, however, Spanish speaking people in the United States consider themselves to be members of _La Raza_ (The Race), a term which includes all Latin Americans united by cultural, spiritual, and blood bonds (Madsen, 1964). _La Raza_ symbolizes a cultural revival among members of this ethnoracial minority and a militant cry for equal status and a fair share of the "good life" in the United States.

Here in California there are some two million Mexican Americans constituting about 10 percent of the population. According to Guerra

(1970), however, 33 percent of the dropouts in the schools and 17 percent of the juvenile delinquents are of Mexican American background. He adds that 40 percent of the prison inmates and 40 to 60 percent of the drug addicts in the state are Mexican Americans. Unemployment is equally high among this segment of the population. And proportionately there are more Mexican Americans in the armed forces than any other segment of the American population (Guerra, 1970).

On the other hand, Guerra (1970) indicates that there has never been a Mexican American athletics director or a football coach at any of the eighteen California State colleges. There has never been any Mexican American as president of any of the 109 or so institutions of higher learning in this state. California has never had any Mexican American on the Board of Trustees or as members of education boards. In one community college with more than 100,000 Mexican Americans in the community, there is only one part-time Mexican American on the 240 member staff of the college (Johnson and Hernandez, 1970). The issue is, then, how can Mexican Americans bring up their children to believe in their first-class citizenship when they see evidence everywhere of their second-class opportunities? And what does this do to a Chicano child or pupil?

The educational gap between Mexican Americans and their fellow citizens is just as great. A study in 1960 in California revealed the following facts. Nearly half of the Mexican American males and half of the females 14 years and older had not gone beyond eighth grade. Only 48.5 percent of the males and 52 percent of the females with Spanish surnames had completed one or more years of high school. No more than 8.8 percent of Spanish surnamed males and 6.2 percent of the females had completed one or more years of college (Cordova, 1970).

The educational establishment, meanwhile, appears to operate in regard to this minority in the following manner: (a) by and large, educators do not appreciate the fact that the Mexican American child comes from a sociocultural background which is very different from the white middle class world and that of the school, and that the child may encounter serious performance, adjustment, and ego problems in his/her efforts to cope with cross-cultural adjustment; (b) in cases where such difference is acknowledged, the Mexican American child from Hidalgo, along with the Black children from Harlem, Chicanos from Berkeley, the Indians of all tribes, the poor whites from Appalachia, and the handicapped and orphaned from the nation at large are all lumped together, labeled "underprivileged" and/or "disadvantaged" and are treated as a homogeneous group; (c) it is often said that Mexican American pupils are "different" (meaning they are inherently inferior); and educators do various things whereby the self-fulfilling prophecy materializes itself (Carter, 1970; Rosenfeld, 1971); (d) as a result, public school authorities tend to treat the Mexican Americans as a unique and serious problem in the public school system.

However, it is contended here that the more important focus is not the problem of the Mexican American child in the school, but rather the problem of the school in the life of the Mexican American child. It is not only that his background conditions limit or handicap his successful adjustment to the public school, but also that the problems of Mexican Americans are perhaps rooted in the school and the teacher as a person and as a transmitter of values, attitudes, norms, skills, knowledge, and as a distributor of opportunities in the classroom. There are problems on both "sides" and some authorities have spoken of the "acculturation shock."

Stereotyping and misperceptions were institutionalized long ago; for example Roosevelt labeled the Columbians a "corrupt pithecoid community"; and Calhoun argued against the United States incorporation of Mexico by saying, "Ours, sir, is the government of a White race" (Johnson, 1969, pp. 2-6). In a study of a community in the San Francisco Bay Area, Parsons (1965) reports that Mexican American pupils were prohibited from speaking Spanish, that teachers had low expectations for them, and that the school actually prepared them for the group's subordinate status in this country.

Blau and Duncan state that "The socioeconomic level of the family defines class origins, whose influence on subsequent educational and occupational attainment has already been defined" (1967, p. 195). They go on to say that in a democratic country where equality of opportunity, though never perfectly realized, is an important ideal; the extent to which class and ethnic background enhances or impedes one's career chances is of practical as well as theoretical significance. This is a key issue in this investigation.

It appears that although some educators and decision-makers seem benevolent in regard to the education of Mexican Americans, this benevolence is not shared by all and it does not manifest itself in the schooling of Mexican American youth on a full time basis. At times the school seems to function as if one of its primary objectives were the assimilation of the ethnoracial minorities into the white middle class sociocultural system. The unfolding of the child's potentialities and/or the development of his own cultural heritage seem to assume secondary importance. In spite of all the legislation, "compensatory" programs and policies, efforts at educating Mexican American pupils appear to be largely ineffective. The issue is evidently more complicated than usually conceived; many forces are at work. To be certain, Mexican American children in Hidalgo and elsewhere are benefiting from the school in some respects. Nevertheless, they continue to remain economically and socially marginal; they are neither independent nor part of the white middle class world. The questions then are: Does the Mexican American sociocultural system interfere with classroom learning? What does the Mexican American child expect to learn in the school? How is the Mexican American child involved in communication in the classroom? Is the teacher transmitting white-middle-class norms, aspirations, and expectations, or a modified version thereof? How are the school and the teacher perceived by the Mexican American child and his parents? What are teachers' expectations and aspirations for the Mexican American pupils? How relevant is the school experience to the life of the Mexican American children? In what way is the school irrelevant, or dysfunctional for this segment of the population in the setting of the pluralistic American society?

Related Research

Below is a brief review of the most relevant studies which touch on the various facets of Mexican American education. One of the most relevant is that of Theodore Parsons (1965), who focused on possible ethnic cleavages in Guadalupe and found out that such cleavages did exist both in and outside the school. Juarez (1968) conducted a comparative study to determine educational status orientation of Mexican American and Anglo students in rural Texas; both groups aspired to higher educational status, but Anglos anticipated and expected more success than the Mexican Americans. Philip Blair (1971) reports, in an unpublished dissertation, that the Mexican Americans earn less as a group and that being aware of this fact, Mexican American youth have lower aspiration and leave school as early as possible. Schwartz (1971) investigated the values and achievement of Anglo and Mexican American secondary school pupils. He found that both groups had high expectations for attending school, but more Anglo students showed a generalized faith in mankind and optimism for the future which he related to Anglo children's achievement. He reports that Mexican American children from upper grades and higher socioeconomic classes had high academic achievement and optimism similar to what was reported for the Anglos. Schwartz asserts that certain cultural factors in the Mexican American subculture hindered general academic achievement. He found support for earlier findings that children reared in the traditional Mexican American culture had lower goal orientation, were more expressive, more particularistic, more fatalistic, and more authoritarian than the Anglo children. But he also found that Mexican American and Anglo children were the same in goal orientation. Schwartz's study dealt with older pupils, but both his study and his methodology are particularly relevant to this investigation.

Most of these studies concentrated on single aspects of Mexican American education. Acculturation and education, however, include more than just single aspects. Components of the educative process interact with each other. Boosted self-esteem encountering severe ethnic cleavage, for example, may not endure very well in light of the status of the Mexican Americans in this country.

Madsen (1964) has done extensive research on the process, stress, and levels of acculturation of Mexican Americans to the mainstream culture. His work shows how the Mexican Americans find it difficult to achieve full acculturation without becoming alienated from their own people or losing their identity and self-respect. Madsen also points out how well-meaning Anglos misunderstand Mexican Americans, insult them unwittingly, and violate their ethics and etiquette. He indicates that because of the many pressures and/or humiliations, the Mexican American child finds the school bewildering, hostile, and a place to avoid if possible, since his home environment and values are largely incongruous to the school. He also discusses the low academic performance and uncertainty about educational goals among Mexican Americans. Madsen (1964) concludes by saying that although many members of this ethnoracial group are undergoing assimilation, most are well-insulated against the "melting process."

Baty (1970) conducted an experimental and interdisciplinary action-research study designed to determine the effect of exposure to cultural-social-economic diversity on selected attitudes of elementary school teachers. His research had two aspects. One was to investigate the effects of exposure to the usual classroom situation on teacher tolerance and teacher optimism. The other aspect dealt with the effect of in-service training programs in addition to the classroom situation on teachers' optimism and tolerance in regard to Mexican American pupils. He found that teachers in the training program became more liberal in orientation, while those in the control group remained more conservative. Furthermore, one teacher training program also increased teacher optimism and teacher idealism. Baty concludes that training plus contact with children in the classroom may be sufficient to increase teacher optimism and to make them more idealistic and optimistic with respect to pupils' achievement potential. But he adds that information alone has no effect on teachers' philosophy and optimism, except that it affects their tolerance of the Mexican American pupils.

Forbes (1967) argues that schools have viewed culturally different children as "culturally deprived" and that the school, therefore, conceives its role as supplying the culture and filling this "cultural vacuum." He argues that in fact bilingualism and biculturalism are definite assets and must not only be respected and strengthened by the school, but must also be utilized by the school for curriculum enrichment. Forbes strongly advocates that schools must also draw on the varied experiences of Mexican American children as well as those of their parents and incorporate these into the educative process.

Philip Blair's study stands out as being particularly pertinent for the current investigation. His study had two main objectives: first, to compare the return to schooling among Anglo and Mexican Americans; and second, to compare these rates of return to those in the ghetto sections. Blair found out that Mexican Americans were paid less than Anglos even if they were equal in education and held similar jobs. There was ethnic and racial discrimination in income.

Blair concludes that this discrimination may cause the Mexican Americans to attach less importance to income generating institutions, i.e., the school. He conjectures that perhaps a Chicano with a high school diploma may present a threat to the Anglos and may, therefore, be discriminated against as much as the tenth grade dropout. Blair postulates that if a Chicano student senses that he cannot advance beyond a certain level, he may choose a blue-collar job where he feels he will be judged by his merits.

By way of recommendations, Blair suggests that one way to keep minorities in school is to eliminate discrimination in income outside the school; he adds that change will come when employers' attitudes are changed, when acculturation of Mexican Americans takes place, and when the Chicanos themselves speak up on their own behalf.

Blair's study was conducted in a county which is one of the most urbanized and industrialized in Northern California. According to the April, 1971 census, 17 percent of its close to one million population was Mexican. While Blair's study documented discrimination, this study attempts to investigate how and why such discrimination takes place in one particular town and school, and how this discrimination influences Chicano attitudes toward education and occupational aspiration.

Theoretical Framework

This study--its conception, design, methods of inquiry, analysis, and interpretation--is heavily influenced by the discipline of anthropology. Education is considered here as an aspect of the processes of cultural transmission and of acculturation. The school is considered to be a microcosm of the encompassing sociocultural system of which the school as an institution, the pupils, the teachers and other collectivities as its elements are a part. It is assumed that the school as an agent of the sociocultural system transmits, through implicit and explicit means, those goals, values, skills, attitudes, knowledge, and behavior patterns which are deemed crucial and necessary by the society. Attention is focused on the educational as well as paraeducational functions of the school. It must be pointed out, however, that the study is not one of socialization *per se*, but of formalized schooling and of pupils, the teachers, the community and the instructional process as seen within the context of broad socialization-acculturation-enculturation.

The theoretical framework for this study centers on the acculturative process. Spindler defines acculturation as "changes brought about in the culture of groups or individuals as adaptation to a culture different from their own takes place" (Spindler, 1963, p. 144). In this case, we have the school's culture conceived, established, and managed according to the white middle class sociocultural system, and the cultural system of the Mexican Americans. Cultural confrontation and adaptation occur. The main function of Coyote School, with respect to Mexican American children from Hidalgo, is to prepare them for membership in the mainstream sociocultural world. The school becomes an interface institution. The Mexican American children, in their attempts to become acculturated to the mainstream sociocultural system, confront that system at the school with their own Mexican subculture. Such confrontation would seem to be especially vivid at the lower grades and at the beginning of each school year. It occurs because there are some marked differences between the children's culture and that of the school. (For a brief description of Mexican American culture, see Chapter III.) Out of this confrontation and struggle, the school seems to emerge as the winner. The Mexican American children must and do, to a large extent, adapt to the school (mainstream) culture. The mainstream sociocultural system, and the school as its representative, appears to have established its credibility through access to a variety of sanctions with which it can impose its culture on its Chicano children.

In this study, the contact between ethnic groups, i.e., the Anglos and Chicanos, and their sociocultural systems is central to the analysis. Looked at from this point of view, the school becomes one of the most important contact points between the Mexican American ethnoracial minority and its encompassing white middle class majority. It is in the school where the values, attitudes, skills, knowledge, and expectations of the minority children confront that of the larger society. And the teachers, who happen to be mostly white middle class Anglos, as the mediators and transmitters, play an important role in this process. Withall and Lewis point out that

> the process of socializing and acculturating the individual has been institutionalized in our society by setting up schools. Here, trained workers deliberately utilize social interaction to bring about changes in knowledge, skill, and attitudes of the youth put into their charge (1958, p. 687).

The investigation focuses on the goals of schooling from the point of view of the school, developed by and for white middle class Anglos, and the Mexican American children and their parents. More specifically, the concern is with the goal of educational and occupational aspiration among Chicano pupils, teachers' attitudes toward and expectation for their Chicano pupils, and pupils' attitudes toward the school, the teachers, and other aspects in the educative process. Withall and Lewis stress the fact that it is not just ideas but also feelings and attitudes that are exchanged between the personnel in the classroom.

Within the past few years there has been increasing concern with the fact that the public school, more efficient and elaborate than ever, has paradoxically become less effective as an instrument of social justice and mobility (Leacock, 1969; Rist, 1970; Sexton, 1961). The school may even have consolidated the class system in America. Rist states that

> the public school system, I believe, is justifiably responsible for contributing to the present structure of society. The school strongly shares in the complicity of maintaining the organizational perpetuation of poverty and unequal opportunity. This, of course, is in contrast with the formal doctrine of education in this country. . . . (Rist, 1970, p. 447).

He goes on to say that "What develops a 'caste' within the classroom appears to emerge in the larger society as 'class,'" (Rist, 1970, p. 448). Rist, and Rosenthal, et al., conceptualized an educational self-fulfilling prophecy; if the teacher expects high performance from his or her students, he or she receives it and vice versa. One could assume, then, that the teacher who comes mostly from the white middle class serves, unwittingly, as an agent of society to ensure that proper "social distance" is maintained between the various strata of society as represented by the children, in this case between the Anglos and Chicanos.

If children are discouraged, ignored, put down, or controlled, it will be difficult for them to experience positive learning, success, achievement, and/or better performance. Thus it can be said that the teacher contributes in a sense to the creation of the "slow learner" in the class. This has particular bearing on the Mexican American pupils in the public schools who are so often summarily put into "slow learner" groups.

Another purpose here was to study the impact of the transaction between teachers and students on their mutual perceptions of and attitudes toward each other as well as its impact on students' aspirations concerning occupations and education. Sexton (1961) points out that

> nowhere in a stratified society are equal opportunities open to all people. In school, as in the world at large, opportunities are usually open to students or closed to them in accordance with their social class position. The higher their position, the more opportunities they have . . . the more students have, the more they get--in school and in life (Sexton, 1961, p. 16).

Concerning this school-society interrelationship, Leacock states that

> our educational institution, as the socializing institution second only to the family, is primarily geared, from a sociological point of view, to maintaining and reinforcing the social-economic structure of our society. Schools are the means through which children are prepared to fit rungs on the occupational ladder more or less equivalent to those occupied by their parents; they are the means by which children are trained and selected for higher education and hence higher status, not primarily on the basis of ability, but on the basis of their family's position in society (Leacock, 1969, p. 6).

By holding the middle class person as the image to which the Mexican American or lower class child should aspire, even the well-meaning teacher is reinforcing this message by undermining his self-confidence and denying respect and acceptance for what he, his family and his ethnoracial peers are.

It was thought that one of the best ways to study education was to investigate its setting, the classroom. The classroom represents a very unique and pervasive phenomena where the young (in this case Chicano children) are presented with the values, attitudes, skills, and knowledge cherished by the particular sociocultural system (white middle class culture). The effectiveness of the school and that of teachers can be measured in terms of the attitudinal changes, or lack of them, among the students. For our purpose, teaching is defined as an interactive process between the teacher and the pupils. And the formal instructional process revolves around some of the following main definable activities: motivating, planning, informing, leading, discussing, disciplining, counseling, and evaluating. Attention was focused on the verbal, visual and physical aspects of interaction between teachers and pupils which can be quantified and from which we can infer the covert dynamics of these interactions. The study was intended to move beyond participant observation, or the rating and opinionnaire approach to the observation and analysis of perceptions by pupils and teachers of their interpersonal relations and to the analysis of some of the specific variables of the sociopsychological content of the instructional process.

Amidon and Hough (1967) are led "to believe that the teaching style and patterns of verbal behavior that teachers use create a social-emotional climate in their classrooms that has a direct effect on the attitudes and behavior of their students" (p. 119). Adams and Biddle (1970) call all the educationally significant interactions in the classroom the "transactional process"; they add that in order for this transaction to take place, there must be communication among and between the personnel in the classroom. Their statement leads to several important questions about the form, purpose, nature, direction, frequency, extent, networks, participants, and outcomes of such communication in the classroom. Theoretically those involved in any one communication may number from two individuals to the entire class. However, during certain kinds of communications, some members may not be involved in the exchange at all. Adams and Biddle call these the disengaged. A central group is defined "when more than 50 percent of the class is attending to a single communication." Any member who is "not involved actively in any of these groups is recognized as belonging to a residue" (Adams and Biddle, p. 16). Taken together, this constitutes the classroom communication structure. The personnel involved in the process can be identified on the basis of their position, i.e., student or teacher, and on the basis of their roles, i.e., emitter, target, or audience.

The teacher plays an important role in all communication in the classroom. Adams and Biddle found out that the average teacher was an emitter in the classroom 59 percent and was a target 25 percent of the time. This makes the teacher the principal actor 84 percent of the time. It was estimated that the teacher acts as an audience seven percent of the time and as uninvolved in the exchange eight percent of the class time. Since talk is such a vital part of teaching (according to Flanders (1970), teachers talk 70 percent of the class time), and since the teacher's verbal behavior has direct influence on the pupil's behavior and performance, it follows that teacher talk is tremendously important in education (Amidon and Hunter, 1967).

The classroom is viewed here as defining patterned behavioral and attitudinal alternatives for children. Leacock points out that

> Goals presented to children in the classroom are likewise not unitary but involve alternative responses to basic cultural themes or concerns. These alternative responses, along with the formally stated and accepted goals themselves are presented through what and how the teacher actually rewards and punishes, through which children are favored and which disfavored, and through the way the learning situation

> is structured. In other words, they are transmitted covertly, or indirectly, and not overtly, or directly. . . . Further, they are taught to have a commitment to the notion of equal opportunity along with a realistic recognition that it is one's position in the status structure that makes all the difference (Leacock, 1969, pp. 16-17).

Teachers define goals for children directly when they teach and set up rules for classroom behavior. Further, they establish goals for behavior indirectly when they praise, punish, or ignore different acts. "The influence they exert on children is particularly strong . . . the normative expectations for behavior and attitudes presented in the classroom are being learned by children as crucial aspects of the world with which they must cope" (Leacock, 1969, pp. 116-117). Leacock goes on to say that the way the teacher structures the interrelationships in the classroom sets up a behavioral model, the implications of which go far beyond the classroom. The investigator intended to explore the goals imparted to the Mexican American children through the teacher's differential treatment toward different children and the type of children generally favored, disfavored, or ignored.

Concerning possible differential teacher treatment against particular pupils from various backgrounds, Sexton (1961) notes that:

> What is more behavior-determining than class origin, however, is the class orientation of teachers . . . teachers in certain vital matters, have a class outlook very similar to that of upper-income groups and quite unlike that of 'urban-labor' groups (p. 231).

She goes on to say that

> . . . teachers tend to identify with upper-income groups--with their opinions, aspirations, and way of life--and many of them long to be accepted in this stratum. If the longing is great enough and the

> identification strong, there will be little room left for the problems of their poorer charges, little sympathy, little understanding, and little real desire to help (p. 231).

It was postulated, then, that the nature and quality of experience in school has a differential influence on the attitudinal development of the various categories of students. It was thought that the extent of this influence could be measured and understood through a detailed study of the interaction processes in the classroom. It must be kept in mind, however, that the nature of this interaction may also be the result of many forces not always open to direct observation or to be subsumed under "academic" categories. The teacher's concept of education, his or her personality, background, and value system, his/her perception of the children as members of various socioeconomic, ethnic, and racial classes, the teacher's perception of educational goals and so on may also determine the dynamics as well as the outcomes of the instructional process. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter VII, the entire schooling is subject to many invisible but pervasive forces from the town and the sociocultural system at large.

This study is an attempt to find out how the school staff operating within the school system and within its relationship with the community affected the goals, the instructional process, and the outcomes of the school with regard to the educational and occupational aspirations of the Mexican American children.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND METHODOLOGY

Research Problems

The significance of an ethnography and the contributions it can make to the literature in educational anthropology has been pointed out by several scholars (Molnar, 1971; Rist, 1972; Sindell, 1969; and Spindler, 1963). The study of individual schools and their contexts with the patterns of organization, formal and informal groups, the school's relationship to the community, forms of interpersonal relations, behavior patterns, rules and routines, use of resources, members' attitudes, goals, and expectations, human and professional relations, and many other areas of investigation can offer insights into the instructional process and attitudinal development of children.

Even in an ethnography, however, one cannot study everything. The investigation must focus on certain specified areas or problems. The present study attempted to concentrate on the following problems.

1. A fairly detailed description of Coyote School and Hidalgo township was considered necessary. The task was to describe and explore the following aspects of the school: its professed institutional goals, its organization, programs, curricular activities, rules and routines, personnel, plant and facilities, decision-making processes, human and professional relations, formal and informal general behavioral norms, school-community relationships, etc. Chapters V,

VI, VII, and IX deal with this aspect of the investigation.

It was also felt necessary to learn about Hidalgo township itself as much as possible. There is a description of the town's history, geography, demography, institutions, housing, socioeconomic conditions, impending problems, and so on. An overview of these aspects is provided in Chapters III and IV. To repeat, it is believed that we can neither understand the school fully, nor solve its problems until and unless we understand its sociocultural milieu; this was the first task.

2. The second major research problem was to analyze teacher-pupil transaction in the classroom. Verbal, physical, and facial interactions initiated by the teacher were to be observed, scored, and analyzed. There were two main purposes behind this aspect. One was to find out what the nature and frequency of teacher-pupil transaction in the classroom in general was. But more importantly, it was to find whether teachers extend differential treatment to students occupying different status categories, and to find out what these status categories were. More precisely, it was predicted that teachers give differential treatment to Chicano pupils in terms of reward, punishment, control and management, academic and prestigious tasks, nonacademic and nonprestigious tasks, nontask academic, and nontask nonacademic interaction. It was also investigated to what extent female students fell into low-status categories, and were therefore also treated differentially.

3. Staff expectation and aspiration for Chicano students

constituted the third research problem. It was predicted that adults at Coyote School would have a low level of occupational and educational aspiration and expectation for their Mexican American students.

4. The fourth area of investigation was a comparison by the school staff of their low-income Chicano students with students from upper middle class Anglo families. The staff was asked to compare the two groups of children along a list of nineteen variables. It was felt that the staff would hold definite stereotypes about "lower class" Chicano children, thinking much more positively about upper class Anglo children.

5. The fifth research problem was to explore the occupation and educational aspirations of Mexican American school children. It was anticipated that their aspirational level would be low.

6. The sixth research problem was to observe professional and human relationships among all school employees in particular among Mexican American and Anglo members. It was predicted that there would be ethnic cleavages between the two groups.

7. The seventh problem was to assess the status of the Mexican cultural heritage at the school. If it is true that the school serves as an assimilating agency with no tolerance for cultural pluralism, we would not expect to find much evidence of the Mexican cultural heritage in the school.

8. The eighth problem was to assess pupils' attitudes toward teachers and the school. If other studies indicate that the school constitutes an unpleasant experience for Chicano children, then they

would have negative feelings about school and their teachers.

9. The final problem was to investigate and analyze the school-community interrelationships. Specifically, this aspect of the study included the following areas: community attitudes toward and involvement in the school; the role of the PTA and the Parent Advisory Committee (PAC); school staff involvement in community life; the way in which community factionalism affects the operation of the school; interrelationships between the school and other service organizations in Hidalgo, such as the CSO, the Clinic, adult education, the day care center, and so on.

Data Gathering

This study is descriptive, analytical, and empirical all at the same time; and it has, in part, assumed the form of both a verificational and exploratory investigation. Since the study has several facets, a combination of research techniques and instruments were utilized for the collection of data. The research strategy was to collect a broad spectrum of ethnographic and other data about the school, the community, and the interactional processes among the various elements. Specifically, the following methods and instruments were used throughout the field work.

Participant Observation: This consisted of the investigator participating in, observing, and recording educational and other interactional processes over a nine month period inside and outside of the school. Spindler (1970) points out that whatever other techniques the anthropologist uses in the field, his basic tool remains participant observation. Smith and Geoffrey (1968) also stress this method in longitudinal and much needed processual studies in education. The task was to carry out a selective recording of human behavior in its natural, "real world" setting in order to construct perception, interpretation, and explanation of that behavior within the context of that setting and/or institution like the school and its immediate sociocultural context, like Hidalgo township itself. The "who," "what," "where," and "why" of the subjects' encounters were the basis for such observation. The researcher used the nonparticipant observer method more than the participant observer method, however. For a discussion and comparison of these two methods, see Smith and Geoffrey (1968).

The investigator began visiting the school and the community in June, 1971. He spent considerable time in the summer school (1971), so that the school personnel and the students would get used to his presence, and in order to pretest some of the research instruments, and to establish the necessary contacts. He began collecting data on the community during that summer.

Intensified and full time observation lasted from September 6, 1971 to May, 1972. The investigator spent almost every waking hour of his time during those nine months in the school and in the community. He attended every possible staff, P.T.A., team, committee, and Parent Advisory Committee meeting during that period. He spent at least three full days in every one of the seventeen classrooms. And he spent his evenings and weekends attending community functions, field trips, gatherings, or simply drinking beer and chatting with the residents in the local taverns. The investigator continued visiting the school and the community up until the write-up of his dissertation.

On September 6, 1971, the investigator distributed to the school staff a letter in which he reintroduced himself and the study, which he called a "learning experience." The letter stated that he would be attending meetings, spending time in classrooms and all over the school, taking notes, photographing, and audio-recording on certain occasions. He reminded the staff (he had initially informed the staff that he was open to questions during the pilot testing) that if they had any questions, objections, or suggestions about the conduct of the study, they should not hesitate to inform the investigator. At the time, no one said anything; they appeared to be either receptive, tolerant, or indifferent.

Teacher-Pupil Transaction in the Classroom: The main concern in this regard was to examine and document possible differential treatment of various categories of students by the teacher. An "Interaction Analysis System" was developed as the instrument for observing and recording teacher-pupil transaction in the classroom (Appendix A). The idea and the system has been utilized in other forms, for other purposes, by a number of researchers. In 1949, Elliot Chapple was one of the earliest anthropologists to use an "Interaction Analysis System," which he called "Interaction Chronograph" (Pelto, 1970). Since that time, however, it has been refined. The best definition of interaction analysis as it now exists is given by Amidon and Hough (1967):

> Interaction analysis is a technique for capturing quantitative and qualitative dimensions of teacher verbal behavior in the classroom. . . . [It] views the dynamics of the classroom through a particular lens. What interaction analysis captures is the verbal behavior of teachers and pupils that is directly related to the social-emotional climate of the classroom. . . . [It] was developed out of social psychological theory and was designed to test the effect of social-emotional climate on student attitudes and learning (p. 2).

Teacher-pupil transaction may and does take many forms. Because of this, Amidon and Hough's concept was adapted to include verbal, facial, and physical transaction between teachers and pupils.

Medley and Mitzel (1963) point out that the process of selecting the behaviors to be recorded is essentially to identify a limited range of behavior relevant to the purpose of the study and to construct categories of items which are to be recorded, scored, and analyzed. For the purpose of this study, it was decided to study seven forms of teacher-pupil transaction: reward, punishment, control and management, assignment of academic and prestigious tasks, assignment of nonacademic and nonprestigious tasks (all from the teacher to various categories of students), nontask but academic, and nontask and nonacademic interaction between the teacher and pupils. Several actual examples of each of the seven transaction categories are provided in Appendix I.

In measuring classroom behavior, Medley and Mitzel (1963) note two stages: obtaining a record of a sample of the behaviors to be measured, and the quantification of that record. They suggest that "there should be a relatively small number of [behavior] categories, each of which is used an appreciable number of times with some behavior or aspect of behavior that is relatively common. If convenient, the tallies should be based on natural units; if not, the tallies should be based on brief time" (p. 301). In this study tallies were mostly based on "natural" behavior units such as a teacher hitting a student with a book or helping him with a problem. But sometimes these "natural" behavior units extend over a longer period of time. For instance, a teacher may spend up to twenty minutes helping one child or a group of children, or the teacher may pull a child by the arm out of the classroom and scold him for five minutes. In such cases, one minute was considered the time unit for talleying. Thus, if the teacher spent four minutes interacting with the same child, it was scored four times.

Flanders (1967) notes a quality of interaction analysis critical for this study.

> It can be used to quantify the qualitative aspect of verbal communication. The entire process becomes a measure of teacher influence because it makes the assumption that most teacher influence is expressed through verbal statements and that most nonverbal influence is positively correlated with the verbal (p. 218).

It is said that for the analysis of classroom interaction to be useful, it should tell about the frequency of various beh[illegible]d it should make possible a cause-and-effect analysis of c[illegible]l behavior.

The investigator used the following pr[illegible]rving and recording teacher-student transaction in the c[illegible] did not score during the first fifteen minutes of the first period since this time was invariably spent on roll call, lunch money, pledge of allegiance, and other routines. No scoring took place during movies, television, P.E., or story telling by the teacher, either. The observer did not score when the teacher was not in the classroom or when the class was run either by a substitute teacher or aides, although he pretended as if he were scoring so that no one would know what he was "really up to." His main interest, of course, was in the interaction between the seventeen regular teachers and their students. The investigator scored for twenty minutes, took a short break, and scored again for twenty minutes, and so on. He studied other aspects and features of the class when he was not scoring. No one was given the opportunity to see the scoring sheet. Furthermore, when some interaction was too obvious, like the teacher saying "shut up" to a student, it was either scored when the teacher was not watching or on a delayed basis. The teachers were always "kept in the dark," as some said. They were told that it was a study in group dynamics in the classroom.

For the classroom observation, the investigator requested permission from the teacher in question one day in advance. He arrived at the school at about 8:30 a.m., and went either to the teachers' room or stayed in the school yard. From there he either accompanied the teacher to the class or showed up at the class a few minutes earlier than its convening time. In the classroom he seated himself in an inconspicuous spot, so that he would not cause any distractions or inconvenience while being able to easily see the entire class. He remained a nonparticipant observer for the most part, except when he was asked to introduce himself to the class, help with something, or to walk around. Throughout the field work, the investigator tried to be polite and presentable and to maintain a low profile.

Classes were observed at two points in time. The investigator spent two full days in every classroom in the first part of the school year. Then he spent another full day in every class toward the end of the first semester. For each observation, he scored teacher-pupil interaction on a strictly quantitative basis. In total, for the seventeen teachers he scored more than 214 hours of student-teacher transaction.

There was one main observer--the investigator--who recorded all the transactions in the classroom. Although it was realized at the inception of this study that an inter-observer reliability approach would be optimal, there were two main circumstances which seemed to militate against this. First, the school and the teachers did not appear very receptive to the idea of having more than one investigator-observer in the school. And second, this was not purely a sociological study in interaction analysis. Teacher-pupil transaction in the classroom constituted only one of the nine aspects of the study. Nevertheless, the investigator did take along one other observer for two days. Interobserver agreement for the two days was fairly high, but admittedly it was far from achieving total reliability. (The results are not reported because of the limitations imposed on observer training on the site and the short length of time which was dually observed.)

Rist (1970), Katz (1972), Deutsch (1960), and others have reported findings similar to those reported in this study. And an attempt was made by this investigator to describe honestly and faithfully the operation of the school and the people in it, and thereby to minimize subjectivity on his own part. Nevertheless, because of the lack of adequate measures taken to insure reliability, it is necessary to view the findings reported here with reservation, until such time as they can be adequately recorded.

Mean class size for the seventeen classes was 26.6; minimum class size was 11 and maximum class size was 43. There was a mean of 21.8, a minimum of seven and a maximum of 35 Chicano students per class. While there was a mean of 4.8, a minimum of zero, and a maximum of nine Anglo students per class. The mean number of boys (both Anglo and Chicano) per class was 13.4, the minimum five, and the maximum 24. The mean for girls (Anglo and Chicano) was 13.2, with a minimum of five and a maximum of 22 per class. On the average, 98.2 teacher-pupil transactions per period initiated by the teacher took place. The minimum number of transactions per forty minute period was seven and the maximum was 278.

Critical Incidents: The investigator also tried to collect critical incidents both during classroom observation and throughout the entire field work. The nature and significance of critical incidents are best defined by Flanagan (1954).

> The critical incident technique consists of a set of procedures for collecting direct observations of human behavior in such a way as to facilitate their potential usefulness in solving practical problems and developing broad psychological principles. The critical incident technique outlines procedures for collecting observed incidents having special significance and meeting systematically defined criteria.

> By an incident is meant any observable human activity that is sufficiently complete in itself to permit inferences and predictions to be made about the person performing the act. To be critical, an incident must occur in a situation where the purpose or intent of the act seems fairly clear to the observer and where its consequences are sufficiently definite to leave little doubt concerning its effects (51:327).

Observing and Scoring Staff, P.T.A., and P.A.C. Meetings: Two identical instruments were designed for recording verbal interaction at the staff, P.T.A., and P.A.C. meetings (Appendices B and C). The underlying purpose of these observations was to investigate the level and extent of participation by Anglos and Chicano participants in the decision-making processes at the school level. The idea was to find out who communicates to whom, and with what frequency. In a sense this was an indirect study of the members' sense of efficacy concerning school related issues.

The investigator was always informed, encouraged, and invited to attend every possible meeting at the school, and he did attend most of them. There too he sat in a corner or in an inconspicuous spot, but a spot from which he could see everyone's face. He scored every possible verbal communication from the start to the end of the meeting. He scored both the initiater and the recipient of every instance of verbal communication (speech). Some of these meetings were also recorded on an audio recorder and were listened to again.

It was always easy to identify the initiator. But it was relatively difficult to identify the recipient all the time. To solve this problem, the following guidelines, developed by Molnar (1972), were utilized. (1) The speaker is looking at a person. (2) The speaker is not looking at anyone but he has addressed his comments to one participant and seems to be continuing with the same subject. (3) The speaker is looking at two recipients. (4) The speaker is answering a question or comment without looking at the person who raised them, so the questioner is considered the recipient. (5) When the speaker was not looking at anyone, but talked for long periods of time, he or she was scored as the communicator every 60 seconds. This was done because we needed a measure of the level of active participation and involvement in decision-making by members with different status and roles, i.e. Anglos, Chicanos, the principal, and others.

Questionnaires. Two questionnaires were constructed and administered. One went to the entire staff at the school. This questionnaire was administered after the classroom observation and after most of the staff was interviewed. Its purpose was to collect additional data not obtainable through the use of other research techniques. The return was high; only four of the 42 people did not answer. One aide refused to do the questionnaire because she said she did not like "to tell lies." For a copy of this questionnaire, see Appendix D.

The second questionnaire was administered to all of the fifth and sixth grade students, as well as to a random sample of the fourth grade students. Altogether 110 students were polled. This proved to be more difficult than was expected. The questionnaire (see Appendix E) turned out to be too long and too difficult for the students. As soon as the investigator realized this, he worked with small groups of students and went over every question with them when necessary. There seemed to be no hostility, and most questions were answered. In the end only two students said they "got fed up" and walked out.

Interviews: Two types of interviews were held with the adults in the school. The investigator engaged in numerous unstructured interviews, more like informal conversations, with staff members during early morning, recess, lunch period, P.E., meetings, field trips, socializing, or during house parties throughout the field work. No notes were taken in the presence of these people, but important points were written down at the first opportunity. He found this extremely effective both with school employees and parents in the community. People expressed themselves more freely and they seemed more relaxed and unthreatened; in a manner of speaking, they really opened their hearts and their minds.

Structured and systematic interviews were held with 38 of the faculty/staff members toward the end of the field work. As Zelditch (1970) points out, such interviews can provided systematic and reliable data about an entire range of perception among a group of people regarding other persons, events, objects, and social-cultural phenomena. In this case, appointments with interviewees were made beforehand, and all of the respondents were asked basically the same set of core questions (see Appendix F). Individuals in special positions were asked additional questions in their areas of expertise. All interviews were conducted in the school. They were recorded on a remote controlled tape recorder, and were then transcribed. The interviews lasted from about

45 minutes to four hours. One respondent insisted on not being recorded because she said it made her nervous. One aide declined the interview because she did not like "to talk about these things." Otherwise the investigator was overwhelmed with the respondents' patience, cooperation, frankness, and insights.

Occupational Interest Inventory: The Occupational Interest Inventory consisted of a sample of twenty professions and occupations, representing a wide range of occupations, from the low-level unskilled jobs to the high-level professions (see Appendix G). It was administered to the school faculty/staff, a sample of pupils, and a small group of parents. The idea of an Occupational Interest Inventory came from the Spindlers' Instrumental Activities Inventory (IAI). See Spindler (1965, 1970) for a detailed description of the IAI.

The Instrumental Activities Inventory is an eliciting technique consisting of line drawings representing activities which exist as possible alternatives an individual can choose, or would like to choose in order to satisfy certain needs and/or achieve certain goals within a specific community. Some are occupations, others aspects of life style. The respondents describe their preferences for specific instrumental activities which they see as important (or unimportant) in their means-end orientation toward life. Furthermore, the IAI elicits enough comments so that one can make inferences about the respondent's general value system.

Adopting the same concepts, the Occupational Interest Inventory (OII) was used in this study. It consisted of twenty representative occupations printed on a sheet of paper in alphabetical order (see Appendix G). It was administered on an individual basis to the school staff and the parents. But, in the case of the students, it was incorporated into the student questionnaire, and was administered in small groups. Specifically, staff members were asked this question: "Please rank these twenty occupations in the order in which you think and expect most of your students will be engaged 25-30 years from now." The underlying objective was to find out about staff expectation and aspiration for their Mexican American students. The parents were asked the following question: "Please rank these twenty occupations in the order in which you would like your children to be doing when they grow up." The purpose here was to learn about parental occupational aspiration for their children.

A pretest with a few children showed that it was impossible and unrealistic to expect elementary school Chicano children to rank the twenty occupations. The question had to be modified. Thus, the children were asked the following questions: "Here are twenty different jobs. First, if you were completely free to do so, which three jobs would you choose? Second, which three would you not choose? Third, give reasons why you would or would not choose the jobs you marked." The students' answers to this question must be viewed with some reservation, since it cannot be assumed that they comprehended the full range of occupations or that their choices are real or lasting. However, their answers may be viewed as indicative of their perception of social reality and the way they intend to cope with that reality.

Enumeration: This consisted of collecting census data and a variety of numerical or potentially numerical data about the school and the community. As Zelditch (1970) indicates, this proved a valuable supplement to the rest of the data. Numerical data was collected on a whole range of items from street lights to library books dealing with Mexican Americans.

CHAPTER III

THE SOCIOCULTURAL MILIEU OF COYOTE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

This study is based on the assumption that we can neither understand the school thoroughly, appreciate its problems, nor reform it radically without due regard for its sociocultural context. School and schooling are not isolated elements or phenomena, but are functionally and structurally intertwined with the outside environment. Often it is said that what happens outside the school is more important than what happens within it. Both areas should be investigated. Allegations by the public school system against their Chicano students can be understood, appreciated, and substantiated or refuted, if need be, only if we go beyond the school environment and look at the problems in their broader perspectives. Charges to the effect that Chicano parents are apathetic, lazy, dirty, present-oriented, "physical," procrastinating, and that Chicano children lack motivation, manners, discipline, respect for others, future orientation, verbal fluency, drive, intelligence, and so on can only be understood and explained if we ask ourselves and endeavor to find out why, if indeed, they do behave in this fashion. Do Chicano pupils indeed fall short of educators' expectations? And, what are those expectations?

It may well be that it is the Chicanos who have problems with the public schools, instead of the reverse. It may be that whatever their behavior, it is very rational and makes perfect sense from their point of view. We must be willing to approach all aspects of the issues with an open and critical approach. It is with the foregoing in mind that Chapters II and III are devoted to a description of the background, people, life, culture, and the institutions in Hidalgo.

Historical Background

During the later part of the eighteenth century, Sonora[1] Valley served as a passage for the Spanish explorers, colonists, and monks travelling between Monterey and San Francisco. The discovery of San Francisco Bay by Portola in 1769 and the Russian penetration into California stimulated the Spaniards to settle at strategic positions in order to protect themselves. This led to the first settlement in Sonora Valley (Paulson, 1875). The conquerors and missionaries cooperated and established a series of presidios (military garrisons) and mission settlements. To make these missions and presidios self-sufficient, a series of pueblos (farming communities) were established, among them El Pueblo de Gazni[2] de Guadalupe in 1777. Each pueblo was given ranchos (land grants) and supplies by the Spanish government. Thus the Spaniards who replaced the Indians brought agriculture, cattle, business in hides and tallow, and development to Sonora County.

When Mexico received its independence from Spain in the 1820's, Sonora Valley too came under Mexican jurisdiction. Agriculture and trade in cattle became freer and expanded. Most of this trade and exchange took place through the Embarcadero (port) de Sonora--later called Hidalgo. Steam navigation began in 1849. In 1853 the Sonora Board of Supervisors provided funds and built several "public highways" leading to Hidalgo. But when the railroad between Hidalgo and its metropolis was completed in 1864, it reduced the navigation between Hidalgo and other ports. The Spanish-Mexican period came to an end with the Mexican War of 1846-48 and the annexation of California to the United States. With it came the end of Hidalgo as an important port and township.

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[1] Sonora Valley and County is a fictitious name given to real places in order to protect their identity.

[2] Gazni is a fictitious name given to the metropolitan city to protect its identity.

Temperatures in the county remain mild throughout the year, ranging from about 80° in July to the 40's in January. The county has wet winters and dry summers. This favorable climate has resulted in the development of rich fruit and vegetable industries around Gazni, thus attracting many unskilled or semi-skilled Mexican American laborers. However, favorable climate has also brought about industry, pollution, population density, and problems of transportation.

Hidalgo's topography resembles that of level countryside. Its shores consist of marsh land intersected with creeks and sloughs, the larger of which are navigable for light ships. Hidalgo soil is typical of Sonora and is very conducive to growing cereals, fruit, and vegetables. In the past its main agricultural products consisted of grains, tubers, fruit, and vegetables which were exported to other parts of the State. Being close to water, its climate is heavily affected by the trade winds which sweep across the water. It has some pleasant days, but the rainy seasons are wet, cold, windy and muddy, and its summers are somewhat dusty, and full of mosquitoes.

Due to its proximity to water, it was thought that Hidalgo could become the shipping point for all the lower ports of the country. Thus, in 1849 the town was laid out and every provision was made for a large city. Docks were projected, squares and plazas were set apart, and streets with names, such as Washington, Moffat, Catherine, Elizabeth, El Dorado, and Liberty ran at right angles to each other. An Act to incorporate Hidalgo was approved.

At this point the town began to grow in population. Human activity and progress put an end to the wild and quiet marshlands and woodlands. In the winter of 1849 steam was first used in the nearby river. An engine was put in an old scow, the name Sacramento given to her, and she began steaming between Hidalgo and its metropolis; it took ten hours and the fare was forty dollars.

C. S. Lyman was asked to survey the township area in 1850; land speculators came from as far as Sacramento, and lots were sold for $600. A state governor was one of the people who made his residence in Hidalgo; preparations were made for building a huge commercial center and for construcging a canal between Hidalgo and Gazni.

The gold rush to California was under way and Sonora County attracted many immigrants. Two more ships, the Firefly and the New Star, were added to the fleet, and more warehouses were constructed. Many people resettled in Hidalgo. In 1851 a new waterway was discovered, and three more ships started to navigate. Construction, agriculture, commerce, and building increased.

Hidalgo was incorporated as a town in March, 1852, whereby the town's limits were defined. The power to determine and collect waterfront taxes upon all the vessels of sixteen cents per ton was invested in the town's Board of Trustees; property taxes were not to exceed 25 cents per one hundred dollars of assessed value. Hidalgo was made a port by the Congress in 1862. The development of the quicksilver mines at New Almaden in 1845 played an important role in Hidalgo's shipping industry. After the discovery of gold at Coloma in 1848, trade increased so much that a steamship made regular runs between Hidalgo and San Francisco. More warehouses were built, buildings were erected for hotels, homes, and stores. A French hotel called the Three Musketeers flourished, and so did gambling and prostitution.

Hidalgo played an important, though silent, role in the economy and development of its surrounding area. The existence of the sea port gave competition to the railroads and secured lower tariffs on freight to and from Gazni. It was very advantageous too as a receiving port for lumber for the nearby communities. Thus, it became the headquarters for receiving lumber from Washington and Oregon. Furthermore, large quantities of bituminous rock, hide, tallow, and some coal were handled along with products like strawberries and tomatoes in the summer (Immel, 1969).

During the days from 1850 to 1861, Hidalgo enjoyed its greatest period of development. In 1865 the railroads started it on its decline. Because of some difficulties between t[illegible] South Pacific Coast [illegible]lroad and the community, no depot has been erected, even today. In 1876 a branch of the railroad was built through the town, business engaged in a slight economic upsurge, and a yacht club started operating.

After World War II the electronics industry came into the area, and transformed the County's economy. This left Hidalgo with its unskilled workers, attracted to the great port, the orchards, the warehouses, canneries, and life of yore, completely out of the mainstream of sociocultural processes, and out in the cold. As the County gained in population and became one of the wealthiest, most sophisticated, and educated counties in the country, Hidalgo sank deeper into disease, poverty, illiteracy, neglect, isolation, and overall decay.

Hidalgo Today

It can be said that at the present time Hidalgo is a caricature of its former self. Most of its streets are three feet below sea level and are said to be sinking at the rate of three inches per year. Only high mud dikes keep polluted flood waters from spilling over the banks of the nearby river and turning the entire township into smelly ponds. Hidalgo's streets are all cracked, potholed, and washed out by drainage water, which stands a foot deep during the rainy season. The water runs through open trenches to the nearby body of water.

There are no sidewalks. The provision of adequate lights, paved streets, and sidewalks are Gazni's responsibilities, but because of the ongoing litigation over the consolidation issue to be discussed later, Gazni has responded only to "emergency" cases. Maintenance repairs, and the provision of social services have been characterized by expedience only. The Public Works Department is waiting for the conclusion of the consolidation case before it does anything for Hidalgo (Gazni, Planning Department, August, 1970).

Today, Hidalgo is a town which gives an overwhelming feeling of brown. For one thing, there are very few trees and grass is a prestige item. There are two or three main tar-topped roads, but even these are shouldered by dirt, and the remainder of the roads are dirt, so the aura of brown is maintained. In the middle of town, surrounded by houses, and on two sides of the town--and even the view from a third side of the town--are large garbage dumps. Used cars, spare parts, construction material, and other smaller refuse is dumped and left. The air in the town smells of garbage and sewage, especially in the wet and windy winter weather. Surrounding communities dump their garbage there. In fact, refuse is scattered all over the town; abandoned cars and tires can be found alongside of many streets.

Where the former mayor's house stands, near the boat building-yacht club section, lies the body of water, with a wooden dock area. And it is in this area that the now forgotten history of the town lies. The only reminiscences of it are an expensive restaurant and a six or eight-unit motel. A little further inland within the town, however, stand pools of brackish, mosquito-breeding water. It cannot drain off into the main body of water, for the town is three feet below sea level. So month after month, this water adds to the aura of brown dots of grey, contracting in the hot, dry, dusty, mosquito-biting summers, but swelling in the rainy winters. In January, this algaed liquid covers many (and sometimes all) of the brown streets.

The houses are all one story, some pastelled, one or two white, some deteriorating grey brown, all plain. Most of them are condemned houses hauled from other locations and put atop cinderblock stilts. They are arranged in rows, mostly in close proximity to each other (generally about three feet apart). There is no zoning, so everything is mixed together, and the people are mixed together too. Except for the dock area, which is only lightly residential, the poor and the less poor are next door to each other. The only discernible difference between them is the lawn, in front of the richer houses, the paint on the house, and the age of the house.

Approaching the town from any direction, the first acquaintance one has with the community is its sour smell. The town is sunken in comparison with the roads. The first signs of the community one sees, therefore, are the shingled or wooden roofs of the houses. There are two roads which enter the town--the two tar-topped ones. On entering the town from either road, the traveller will see the most impressive structures in the town: the school and/or the clinic (depending upon which road is taken). These are modern, well kept, painted buildings. Then both roads lead to the center of town, and intersect at a corner which reveals a wooden deteriorating structure, inhabited, but hardly recognizable as a house. This is the entrance to the town.

Hidalgo is clearly defined by its relationship to water. The entire township consists of some 2,250 acres of land. The area is urbanized on its western section and nonurbanized and agricultural in the eastern parts.

Carmel Street makes up the commercial and psychological center in Hidalgo. It is the main entrance to the town and it connects the various parts of the town with each other. The other main parts of the town include the school-park complex, the Health Center, the marina area, and the residential area. The agricultural areas, devoted mostly to pear orchards and pasture, are on the eastern side of the town; they are also sparsely settled (Gazni, Planning Department, November, 1970).

Hidalgo township is a tide marsh town. It appears to be isolated from the mainstream society by income, image, psychology, broken dreams, sketchy promises, lack of public transportation, apathy, mud, and freeways. It is a place where many people measure wealth by the amount of the grass people have in their front yard, and most have hardly any front yard. It is a town of mudflat surrounded by garbage-filled dikes, and submerged in unbelievable poverty. The children play in some of the vacant lots full of mud, water, stagnant ponds, trash, and/or lumber. And there are many children who are constantly sick with chronic bronchitis. The town also has a defunct speedway. But even when it is operating, it is full of dust, tires, and debris. It has about 10,000 acres of shoreline and several navigable deep water channels awaiting harbor development. The George's Restaurant, with its high prices, catering mostly to outsiders and the rich ship builders from Hidalgo, is one of the best in the County. The Hidalgo Grocery Store is owned by Mrs. Tony, and she is said to make some of the best Mexican spices this side of the border.

Population, Demography, Ethnicity

Hidalgo's population increased from 700 in 1940 to 1,174 in 1960, and again to 1,311 in 1966. The following is a population breakdown by age and sex for 1966:

Age Groups[4]

Hidalgo	0-19	20-59	60+
Male	379	236	25
Female	359	228	20
Total	733	464	45
Percent of Total Population	59%	37.4%	3.6%

In 1966, 68.6 percent of Hidalgo's 1,311 people were Mexican American, 31 percent Anglo, and one percent other, which included Blacks, Polish, and Japanese. Recent unpublished statistics and surveys point out that the town's population has reached a plateau during the last decade, remaining relatively steady.

The average family size for Hidalgo is six persons, as compared to four persons for Sonora County in general. Family size ranges from four to twenty-three persons. It has an extremely high rate of youth dependency in that 59 percent of the population is between the ages of 0 and 19 (Gazni Planning Department, December, 1971). This rate of dependency is about four times higher than in the metropolitan area.

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[4] Source: Gazni Planning Department, December, 1971.

All these figures must be viewed with some degree of doubt, however. For one thing it is alleged that there are quite a few illegal residents (wetbacks, sandpipers, etc.) in the community; there are also frequent new arrivals from and departures to Mexico and other states. Furthermore, the local people do not give accurate information on these matters for a multitude of personal reasons. Second, any survey or study conducted by mail or telephone cannot be completely trusted since many are illiterate, do not understand English, and/or simply would not answer such surveys. This also puts the census figures in doubt. And a third problem is the highly politicized nature of Hidalgo's relationship with metropolitan Gazni, with the government agencies--such as the welfare, police, revenue, and immigration authorities--and with the many researchers and scholars, including this one, which casts a very dark shadow of doubt over the "facts" on the community. The community is extremely suspicious of anyone seeking information, and it is therefore very secretive and resentful about giving any such information.

Education

Low income may have led to the low level of educ[illegible]n Hidalgo. Educational attainment is very low for all age brackets. [illegible]lment for the school age population at the senior high school and college levels is low too; the dropout ratio is high. The median number of school years completed in Hidalgo is 8.3 as compared with a metropolitan Gazni median of 12.6 years. Sixty-five percent of the school age population between the ages of 16 and 17 are attending school. Fifty percent of the people 25 years and older have less than eight years of school. The comparable figure for metropolitan Gazni is 26 percent. Of the Mexican Americans living in Hidalgo, 77.8 percent of those 25 years and older have less than an eighth grade education (Gazni Planning Department, August 4, 1970, p. 1).

The dropout rate has been especially high beyond junior high school. As far as this investigator can determine, there are no accurate figures on this. But, among the Mexican Americans there is only one man in the entire community who has finished college; although there are about forty boys and girls currently enrolled both in community and four year colleges. They seem to find it difficult, if not impossible, to pursue higher education. They cannot afford the tuition, the transportation, any accommodations and/or other expenses involved. Not only that, but they must work full time to contribute to family income. One young Mexican American working mother who is a high school graduate described the problem this way:

> I know quite a few kids who drop out and their parents get very upset. My parents were working and I had little brothers and sisters, and I stayed home and helped them. We were very poor and couldn't afford anything. I didn't like to go on because I liked to get a job and get married. . . . My mom always used to preach to go to college. It's not really that you didn't care for school, it's the money. Where are you going to get the money to get the books and stuff like that. It was hard for us to even get through school. Oh, and that was a problem too. Many kids didn't have anything to wear to school; they just didn't go. They probably had no transportation, no good clothes, and so on. Well, if you try, these kids figure, since you are Mexican, so who is going to give you a scholarship? . . . Yeah, that's true of a

> lot of people who call you Mexican. You are not going to get anywhere. What's the use of going if you are not going to get anywhere?

Employment and Occupational Patterns

This low level of formal educational attainment as well as the nature of the recent immigrants from rural Mexico has resulted in a large number of unemployable and/or unemployed people in Hidalgo. Most of the working age men and women, only about 40 percent of the total population, do not possess the skills that are saleable in the technologically advanced market in Sonora County. Fifty-nine percent of the population between the ages of 0-19 and 3.6 percent 60 and over cannot work. In addition to that, most of the newly arrived immigrants come directly from rural Mexico, do not know English, and do not have the skills to be employed in the heavily industrialized Sonora County. Many of the Mexican Americans are unskilled and unable to compete in the highly technical job markets that have sky-rocketed the County's standard of living.

Consequently, as a result of all this, most of the working age population, that is those who are able to find employment, are engaged in low-level blue-collar occupations. Among the most common occupations are landscaping, low-level industrial jobs, work in the Army, custodial jobs, truck-driving, farming, gardening, construction work, nurse's aides, garbage collectors, and cannery and nursery work.

The town is characterized by an unusually high rate of unemployment, low income, extreme poverty, and welfare. A 1970 report indicates that one-third of the town's inhabitants were below the poverty level, i.e., earning less than $4,000 per year. Fifty percent earned less than $5,000 per year. Per capita income was $1,000. The comparable figure for those below the poverty level in Gazni was 7.4 percent. The average unemployment in Hidalgo is 13.2 percent, as compared with the 4.06 percent in the metropolitan area. It is reported, though, that unemployment in Hidalgo may reach as high as 23 percent during the winter season (Gazni Planning Department, August 4, 1970, p. 1).

Poverty

High unemployment, very low income, and the resultant welfarism have led to a subsistence level of life. Most of the people in Hidalgo appear to have very little or no cash left in order to purchase education, health care, adequate food, clothing, housing, recreation, and cultural enrichment items such as books, magazines, newspapers, trips to places of interest, concerts, theater, etc. Evidence to substantiate the effects of poverty are clearly visible in the daily lives of the adults and school children in Hidalgo. Most people's clothes are old, mended, "remodeled," cheap, and often not right for the particular season. This is why Coyote School finds it necessary and useful to run a "clothes closet" for the children and adults of the town. A school employee put it this way: "Just another big problem we have is clothing needs for these children. We have already clothed about fifty families which have come in and used our clothes closet."

The school sends out an appeal and collects old and new clothes from the affluent parts of the County, sorts them, stores them, and then redistributes them to the residents of Hidalgo. The school sends notices to all the families in Hidalgo informing them about the availability of the clothes in the school. When asked if the notification might have insulted some families who may either have nothing, be wealthy, or do not care for left-overs, the school official said:

> No, absolutely no. They all come and want these things. The clothing that we receive is for the most part very nice clothing, because people usually send us the things that are the better clothes. We ask that they be clean and mended, because our families do not have sewing machines and buying buttons and those things are expensive; we ask that at least they be in that sort of repair.

The clothes bank is open every Thursday afternoon throughout the school year. Two complete sets of clothes are given free to the men, women, and children of a family by members of the PTA, as students, school personnel, and visitors pass by and observe the process.

The school also maintains a welfare fund of its own with which it buys shoes and emergency food for certain needy families. One of the people in charge said:

> Now we also have a welfare fund from which we buy shoes, and we've already purchased many pairs of shoes this fall. We limit it to $10. When it goes above that, they have to get the money. It's also limited to a particular store which is Penney's in downtown. And we feel for this particular age child, they should be able to get halfway decent shoes for $10. As of course the children grow older, they get more expensive. We've also used this fund to buy emergency food. We had to do this last year for a couple of families. And the district PTA has bought new clothing; they've bought new underwear and new jeans; and these we keep in the office, because again we don't want families to abuse their privileges.

The respondent added that there had been "misuse" of the clothes and the welfare funds, and that in order to avoid this a complete record is kept by the office, and that supervision by the office is necessary.

Nutrition

Poverty also means that people cannot and do not eat well--or for that matter eat at all. The men, women, and children for the most part appear undernourished, small, and pale. About 150 of the 419 pupils are on free lunch and breakfast, which means that they come from certified poor families who send their children to school without breakfast and lunch. As one teacher said, "Some of these children could become professional athletes. But you see they don't eat very well, and they are so small and weak; and I must say that even there, they're the losers."

Housing

Poverty manifests itself more clearly in housing in Hidalgo. Housing is another distinguishing characteristic of this town. Most of the town's 400 or so structures have been hauled in from freeway condemnation sites and jacked up on blocks, bricks, or other things to keep them above water. Until very recently one could buy a lot for about $1,000, fill it, haul in a house for about $2,000, and live in it for a total cost of lower than $4,000. This sounds cheap, but most of the Mexican Americans cannot even afford this (Immel, 1969). Now, however, because of the low tax rates and the knowledge of its previous cheapness, people want to move into Hidalgo, so demand has forced even these prices up.

There are some 284 housing units in Hidalgo, almost all of which are occupied. Of the total homes, only 32 percent are owner-occupied, as compared to 62 percent in the metropolitan area. The rest are rented. The average number of persons per household here is 5.22, as compared to 3.42 in metropolitan Gazni. Most of the Mexican American homes are crowded. Single family dwelling units house 95 percent of Hidalgo's population, most of whom are very large families (Gazni, Planning Department, August 4, 1970, p. 1).

A 1965 survey by the Economic Opportunity Commission revealed that 45 percent of the renting tenants paid less than $60 per month, that 48 percent of all the houses were substandard, and 33 percent were labeled dilapidated (Gazni Planning Department, Appendix A, September, 1970). Another survey by the Gazni Health Department in 1968 showed that 44 percent of the dwellings were overcrowded, 15 percent had incomplete plumbing fixtures, five percent had no indoor toilets, and 12 percent of the houses were in violation of sewage laws (Gazni Planning Department, Appendix A, September, 1970). About 80 percent of the houses are owned by a few absentee landlords who seem to capitalize on the Mexican American tenants, making few or no repairs.

Many of the houses are run-down shacks with broken windows or paper windows and with doors which do not close properly. The houses are old, unpainted, and flaking. This investigator visited many homes; and many of them have no heat, are drafty, old, scantily furnished, musty, and have an odor common to old, unheated, and overcrowded structures. Quite a few people keep animals such as horses, pigs, chickens, rabbits, and others in their back yards. A school count came up with about 130 dogs owned by the school children's families, most of which were not licensed. Very few of the home owners have lawns, trees, or concrete paths. When the investigator asked a teacher aide from the school about housing in Hidalgo, she had this to say:

> My housing--they need a lot of fixing here in Hidalgo. I've been living in that house across the street for six years and they haven't done anything. The whole kitchen leaks and I have pans all over the floors. He [the landlord] came for the rent yesterday and I told him: there's a lot of people's houses here in Hidalgo which need to be fixed, and yet you come for the rent. And you don't want to fix them. I asked you during the summer if you would please put something on the roof so it doesn't leak. Look at the bed in the bedroom; it's all wet. The landlord is Mexican. He's not doing anything. I told him about the sinking floor in my kitchen. There's running water and sufficient electricity in all the houses; but they're crowded. No closets. I had to go and buy closets for my clothes. [So why don't you move out?] It's hard to find a house and they're expensive. And the only income we get is what we get here. My husband is not working; he can't.

Hidalgo officials were warned by the State health officials in 1961 to eliminate all sewage-contaminated water on the ground surface, prevent new household sewage systems which are not up to the standard, build a new sewage plant or join the metropolitan sewage plant. At one point the State Health Department officials noticed that water lines were laid on the ground surface in close proximity to the sewage lines there. They saw pools of overflowing septic tank waste in some yards, streets, and in vacant lots close to those homes that were recently hauled into Hidalgo. Children were seen playing in this contaminated sewage. One summer 24 residents were hospitalized for intestinal diseases due to water contamination. But the water supply as well as the sewage system have been improved. Hidalgo has its own municipal water system and its own sewage plant now.

Reasons for the housing conditions in Hidalgo must be sought in the social, political, economic, and racial situation in Sonora County at large. It is one of the fastest growing areas in the country. The County as a whole can best be defined as affluent. Severe shortage of housing exists for the low and moderate income households. The contrast between the white majority and the brown minority is growing fast and deep. There are few houses in the County selling for less than $24,000, or renting for less than $120 per month. There is marked spatial segregation of the various income groups in the County. The poor, i.e., the Mexican Americans, generally live in the older areas, while the rich, i.e., upper and middle class whites, live in the newer areas and in the foothills of the valley (County of Sonora Planning Department, 1969).

A 1969 survey of the housing situation in the County suggested that the real solution to the housing problem lies in increasing the supply of housing, eliminating poverty, and in equalizing opportunities for the Mexican American minority. The report added that not only do the Mexican Americans have low incomes, but that they are also limited in the choice of housing. The report indicates that residential segregation is in[illegible]sing in the County, and that several areas are fast becoming ghettos. The report concludes that in the absence of major positive steps, discrimination and poverty will continue to push the

Mexican Americans to housing areas that are both inadequate and substandard (County of Sonora Planning Department, 1969).

Postal Service

Hidalgo has a small post office which serves the residents and the business world. The office is staffed by an Anglo couple who reside in the community and have had the job for a long time. A Mexican American lady is hired whenever extra labor is required. The Anglo couple own the store next to the post office as well. There is no door-to-door mail delivery. The U.S. Post Office says that it is a third class station, and it does not have the mail volume to warrant door-to-door service for the 1,300 or so residents and more than a dozen business enterprises in Hidalgo. The post office promises door-to-door service when Hidalgo's population exceeds 2,500; its postal revenue reaches $10,000; its streets are paved to permit travel of postal vehicles; when there are public sidewalks; and when its street signs can be read from the street. So Hidalgans must pick up and deliver their own mail.

Fire Protection

Hidalgo has its own fire station now. It was provided by the metropolitan city four years ago, after the consolidation election. The station is ranked number three on a scale of one to ten. It has a new building, a new one thousand gallon pumper-type fire engine, and it is manned by a nine man crew with three fire fighters on every shift. Eight of the men are Anglos and one is Portuguese, and they all live outside of Hidalgo. According to the firemen, the supply of water has been improved in many parts of the town, but there are still many areas without fire hydrants and these are considered extremely hazardous (Gazni Planning Department, August 1970). The firemen admitted that there were not enough calls here and that the station was not really justified.

When asked about their interrelationship with the community, the firemen were unanimous in expressing difficulties, doubts, and reservations about such relationships. One of them said, "They don't really accept us because to them we represent Gazni--and of course they hate the city." Another observed that "They hate us because I think there is a natural hostility among minorities toward Anglos." A third fireman pointed out that

> We have had a very difficult time here. They used to throw things at our station. They wouldn't talk to us or greet us, except for the children. We don't mix or socialize at all. But I don't really blame them. It would be nice if we had some Mexican Americans on our crew who lived here. Who are we?

When the investigator asked the firemen what their impressions of the town and the people were, one of them said the following:

> This place looks terrible. Seventy-five percent of the homes are substandard. They have no vents, poor utilities, and poor lawns. The houses have defective installations. Many of the home owners don't have any insurance and they don't maintain the homes. And the renters either don't care or they can't afford to do anything to the homes. But I guess the real problem is economics, these people have extremely low income and they can't afford anything except survival.

Another fireman was asked about the Mexican American children, and he related the following observations:

> The kids are nice and lovely, and we really enjoy them. They come over and we give them candies and stuff. You know they are very different from white children. At six they learn how to survive. You look at them, they have no shoes, poor clothes, and poor food; but they struggle, they laugh, and they are very aggressive. You give one of them a candy and he says, 'give one for my brother or cousin.' They have to be like this, how else can you survive? I think in some ways they are smarter and tougher than the white kids.

Another fireman added this about the people:

> These people are not used to having fire-stations around. They don't know what services we offer and they never call us, like we give mouth-to-mouth resuscitation, we rescue people, we help in drownings. But I guess most of these people come from the rural areas and they don't know about these things. Or maybe because they can't speak English.

One fireman intimated that "many of the business owners come here because they can get away with all kinds of tax and safety laws. Many of their buildings are fire hazards."

Safety and Crime

In fulfillment of the consolidation agreement, Gazni has expanded its police service to include Hidalgo. It is said that an average of 3.67 police officers are assigned to Hidalgo, per 24-hour period. The police department reports lower crime rates of all kinds for Hidalgo than for Gazni. For instance, in 1967 the crime rate for Hidalgo was .91 felonies for every one hundred persons. This compared favorably with a Gazni average of 2.2 cases per one hundred persons.

Police service is considered adequate by the Gazni police department. The following figures, although for brief periods of time, may be instructive in forming an idea about crimes and arrests in

Hidalgo. The following cases originated in Hidalgo in January-February, 1970 (Gazni Planning Department, August, 1970).

Cases	No. of Incidences
Burglary	12
Auto theft	0
Rape	0
Aggravated assault	0
Other felonies	1
Misdemeaners	8

Gazni Police Department reports the following arrests during the months of January through May, 1970 (Gazni Planning Department, August, 1970):

Cases	No. of arrests
Drunkardness	3
Felonies (rape, robbery, burglary, theft, aggravated assault)	3
Traffic	1
Others	6

However, the rate of dependency referrals is about four times higher for Hidalgo than for Gazni. Juvenile delinquency in Hidalgo is 1.5 times higher than in Gazni. But Hidalgo has a lower crime rate and fewer cases of suicide, homicide, and veneral disease.

Hidalgo residents are not subject to police brutality common to other barrios. One Mexican American said, "the policeman is our friend. He is young and very nice." It is said that many people in Hidalgo drive without a license, but the police do not stop or interrogate them because "it will be embarrassing." Reportedly the police do not ordinarily intervene in disputes among residents unless they are called upon.

Parks

Hidalgo has a seven acre park which is adjacent to the school. It was completed in 1969. The park includes landscaping, an automatic underground irrigation system, a ballfield, including a backstop and scorekeeper's booth, a picnic area with barbecue tables, an apparatus area, a tot lot, and rest-room facilities. The park has 180 trees which are in the third year of their life and do not, therefore, provide any shade. The park contains no flowers or lights. Water supply for its irrigation seems to be inadequate, and a great deal of the grass is burned up during the summer.

Two Anglo recreation leaders are provided by the metropolitan Parks and Recreation Division. These leaders work with the school children six days a week between 2:30 and 5:30 during the school year, and between 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. on holidays and during summer vacation.

Industrial, Business, and Commercial Enterprises

For a small town of 1,300, Hidalgo has quite a few such enterprises. There are four restaurants-cocktail lounges in Hidalgo. One of these restaurants is quite fancy and big. It is one of the best and most expensive restaurants in Sonora County (George's Restaurant, mentioned earlier in this chapter). It specializes in standard American food. It is owned by an Anglo who lives in the town, but its patrons are mostly outside Anglos. Two of the restaurants specialize in sea food and are also owned by Anglos. These are also very expensive, and one of these has "Hawaiian" music playing nightly. One rarely sees any Mexican Americans in these three places. The fourth restaurant specializes in Mexican food, is reasonable in price, and is patronized by both Chicanos and Anglos. This is run by Mexican Americans, but is allegedly owned by an Anglo who also owns the only gas station in the town as well as one of the other restaurants and one of the taverns.

There are two snackbars, one owned by a Mexican American and the other by an Anglo who also owns the only laundromat in town. There are three taverns; one is very elaborate, and is owned and mostly patronized by Anglos. The second tavern is owned and mostly patronized by Chicanos. The third is run by Mexican Americans and patronized by Mexican Americans and some Anglos. It, too, is allegedly owned by an Anglo.

There are no big stores, grocery stores or shopping centers in Hidalgo. There are two very small and expensive grocery stores, one small hardware store and one small clothing store in town. Most people do their shopping in the nearby communities, but purchase small or urgent items in the town's stores.

There are a few small-scale businesses and industrial outfits. These include a small welding shop, a small auto repairs shop, a small fertilizer plant, an oil storage plant, a cement factory (owned by a Mexican American from Hidalgo), a wrecking yard (also owned by a Mexican American from the town), and a big auction place selling furniture.

It was estimated that in 1970 the total value of the entire assets in the 14 square miles of the Hidalgo district was $3.5 million. This is considered hardly enough to raise tax revenues sufficient to provide all the necessary services for its inhabitants.

Entertainment and "Culture"

Hidalgo seems to offer very little or nothing for the entertainment of its men, women, and children. There is no movie house, theater, community center, tennis court, swimming pool, beach, school plays, school band, etc. There is an acute paucity of any kind of entertainment, cultural or enrichment facilities for the town's youth. Added to this is the fact that Hidalgo is very isolated in that there is no public transportation connecting the town to the nearby cities. There are many residents who either do not have automobiles or who cannot drive.

This does not mean that all of Hidalgo's residents are bored. For one thing, almost everyone--men, women, and children--seems to be busy most of the time. They work; they keep house; they take care of the babies, the sick, and the old; they repair their cars, their trucks, or their homes. Some take care of their lawns and the garbage; others look after their horses, pigs, rabbits and other pets. They drive to the metropolitan Flea Market to purchase cheap goods; the children play with the many abandoned cars or in the junk, or with each other; they do not have many personal toys. The youth drive around the streets or to Gazni; they play baseball, soccer, or basketball; they park in the vacant lots and make love; they get "stoned" on marijuana and hard drugs; and they fight with the boys from East Gazni.

Above all, the people watch television, which is an integral cultural element in every home, and which is played at a loud volume for many hours every day. Adults, especially the men, drink beer in the local taverns, play pool, and/or chat in the evenings. The women spend a great deal of time doing things for their respective churches, such as cooking food and then selling it, decorating, painting or repairing church buildings, or holding seemingly interminable meetings. Community-wide meetings about issues of general concern, such as the Health Clinic, the Community Service Organization (CSO), the school, the consolidation controversy, the airport threat, and so on, take up a major portion of the adults' free time.

On top of all this, given any situation, the inhabitants of Hidalgo manage to seize every opportunity in order to create ways and means for enjoyment. Such activities include celebrating the Mexican Independence Day (September 16), a carnival arranged by the community's youth, the inaugural opening of the new Clinic facilities, Thanksgiving, Halloween, and Christmas programs and dances, graduation ceremonies for those who go through the Clinic's training program, and benefit dances and functions.

Hidalgo does not have a community center or any public place where its residents, or those who deal with them, can conduct meetings, programs, or activities of general concern or interest; there is no place which could serve as a recreation center. The school does not provide such facilities, either. It lacks such common facilities as a multipurpose room, a cafeteria, a gymnasium, etc.

The Department of Health and Urban Development of the Federal Government has approved for Gazni a $189,000 grant as partial costs for building a community center for Hidalgo. Gazni has promised, as a lure to consolidation, $84,318, and the Sonora Unified School District says it will match those funds with $100,000. With the consolidation controversy still unsettled, however, Gazni has refrained from taking any action on this, deciding in February, 1971, to withhold matching funds for the Federal Government's grant. The Federal grant requires not only the matching funds, but it also requires that Gazni should maintain the proposed community center for twenty years. Consequently, Gazni has chosen inaction, stating that if the consolidation does not materialize, Gazni's council would be liable to a taxpayers' suit for spending money on a "foreign" city. That Gazni has already spent about $750,000 in Hidalgo has not been mentioned.

Harbors

Hidalgo has been able to attract many boating enthusiasts from the nearby communities. A marina exists which was built by Sonora County and the State at a cost of $300,000 on the town's basin. The basin is part of Hidalgo slough which leads by a channel of ten feet in depth into the nearby water. The marina consists of two concrete launching ramps, several float installations, an elevated parking lot, and a comfort-information station. It provides berthing for about 200 boats, and it serves about 250,000 people per year. It occupies a fourteen acre area. Measures have been taken to protect it against floods, and the street leading to it is kept well paved at all times (County of Sonora, Office of the County Executive, 1969). The marina constitutes a haven for the valley's boating enthusiasts. It is crowded with people, cars, and boats on any normal weekend. None of the people live in Hidalgo.

There is also a Yacht Club in Hidalgo which has its own private club house, an Anglo host, and a private launching area. The club has about forty boat-owning members who also come from the nearby communities. There is also the Sonora County Port at Hidalgo through which it is estimated that 400,000 tons of cargo, mostly cement, pass annually. And then there is a fairly large area close to the basin where amateurs construct their own boats out of cement, wood, or other materials.

All this has prompted a young Anglo entrepreneur to establish the Hidalgo Boat Works and Marina. This is a small business located next to the aforementioned launching areas. It sells, repairs, and transports boats and parts, and also assists the Coast Guard in its operation. The business employs anywhere from six to fifteen people. According to the owner, he doesn't care about their education, sex, or race, "as long as they can do the job"; but there are no Mexican Americans. The owner said that almost all of his customers were outsiders, and that business was very good, especially in the summer.

As a great port, however, Hidalgo is almost becoming extinct. Although high tides of up to ten feet allow carefully scheduled pleasure boating and occasional barging of cargo through the passageway of the slough to the water, it is said that the long route is nearly filled with sediment, and even smaller boats can run aground in the mud during low tide.

Floods

Because of its proximity to water, the Hidalgo area is subject to unpredictable and periodic flooding. Such floods have in the past posed threats to both life and property. Hidalgo has experienced two great floods in the last few years. The greatest flood in its history took place in April, 1958, when there was six feet of water all over the town. The second, not so spectacular, occurred in 1969, depositing three feet of water.

Hidalgo is three feet below sea level (subsidence continues at a relatively rapid pace, but it has been three feet since 1934). Because of this, any heavy rain or high tide can cause problems for the community. Flooding due to creeks, tidewaters, tidal waves, storms, and earthquakes constitute some of the disasters that are chronic to the township. A heavy flood covered part of the nearby road in June, 1956, and if it had not been for the repaired levee along the railroad track, the town, too, would have been flooded. During heavy raining, many Hidalgans become virtually trapped in their homes because of street flooding without any effective drainage. It was reported that during a prolonged and heavy rainy period in 1970, about two hundred people were trapped in their homes, and Gazni refused to pump the rain water out. There were seven feet of water in Hidalgo's streets for many days in December, 1950, and only ten families actually escaped the flooding. High tides of about seven feet occurred again in 1967.

Theoretically, the municipal government should provide and maintain adequate protection against storm and heavy rains which occur about once in every three years. But there are no effective storm drainage systems. A few dikes have been built, and since the builders are required to fill the ground six feet, there are only a few lots immune from light floods. Some storage basins and pumping systems have also been installed. But experts' judgment point out that none of these measures is really significant protection against heavy storms and floods.

One man who has lived most of his life in Hidalgo had this to say about the floods: "Ever since I can remember, the water has been coming in. I feel that it is a yearly occurrence, something we expect. So we raise the furniture off the floor, and after the flood we come back in and clean up." (Gazni News, February 8, 1956, p. 19.)

Airport

Apart from these ever-present natural catastrophies, Hidalgo residents must live with an impending man-made redevelopment activity which could dislocate and uproot them. In the last few years the City Planning and Airport Commissions of Gazni have been considering building a big superjet airport on the site occupied by Hidalgo. The airport will cost an estimated $600 million and will be able to handle about

42 million people in the area annually (Spaulding, Mercury, January 10, 1970). Advocates for the master plan argue that the proposed airport is necessary if the area is to cope with air traffic in the future. These proponents include people from Gazni City Planning, the Airport Division, Gazni City Councilmen, and the president of the Hidalgo Improvement Corporation, who also happens to be the biggest landowner in Hidalgo and an Anglo. Most of the other property owners in Hidalgo favor the airport idea. These are also most of the same people who spearheaded the merger plan between Gazni and Hidalgo. They have organized the Hidalgo Improvement Corporation, which they say is a nonprofit organization, and launched an all-out and costly campaign for consolidation.

Those who advocate the airport idea call it part of a master plan which would include the building of a larger marina, an industrial park, recreational facilities, and more housing. All this, they say, will bring about progress and development for the area, and will turn it into another "Sausalito," or a place like "Mission Bay of San Diego." On the other hand, the opponents point out that this will totally uproot the residents without adequate compensation; that it will destroy their ethnic-communal identity and security; and that even if they managed to be relocated near the airport, the noise and pollution would literally destroy them.

Final decision on the airport has not been reached because the idea has met with opposition from nearby communities as well. But the idea and the plans are still in existence, and it is feared by many

Hidalgans that it may soon become a reality.

Consolidation

Hidalgo's status and survival as a separate, autonomous, and self-sufficient community has been in a state of limbo since January 9, 1968. That was the date when the 1,300 residents in Hidalgo voted, 189 to 180, for consolidation with the sister city of Gazni. The results of that election are being challenged in the courts, however. To view the issue from the point of view of the community, the following background factors have to be taken into consideration.

First, it should be pointed out that Gazni has been interested in annexing Hidalgo for a long time. Such annexation would make Gazni, in terms of territory, one of the largest cities in California. But more importantly, it will give Gazni a piece of much sought after shore. Hidalgo seems to have a great potential for the development of housing, marina, water-oriented recreation, port facilities and industry, as was recognized when the town was laid out in the 1850's.

Second, there is a group of big landowners and businessmen in Hidalgo itself who would like to open up the town to the outside world, and thereby sell their own property at a higher price, or improve their business. There are at least seven people, all of whom happen to be Anglos, who own much of the property in the vicinity, who are of the oldest families of Hidalgo, and who are for consolidation. Hidalgo's current situation does not attract developers, businessmen, or industrialists because of its flooding and socioeconomic conditions (about 70 percent of the residents being poor Mexican Americans). Therefore the only way for the landowners to sell their land with large profits is to see Hidalgo annexed to Gazni, see an airport built, and see Hidalgo become high cost housing, thus ousting its current poor Mexican American and poor Anglo residents. The landowners see consolidation as the last and only hope for development. They formed a nonprofit Hidalgo Improvement Corporation, and with it have worked vigorously for consolidation.

Third, there are a handful of Hidalgans, Chicano and Anglo, poor and rich, who feel genuinely that consolidation is the only way out for Hidalgo. They point out that Hidalgo itself is not only completely insolvent, but actually $630,000 in debt. They say that the town's annual budget of $180,000 was hardly enough to sustain it prior to consolidation. And they say that the total value of all assets is only $3.5 million, which is not enough to raise sufficient tax revenues for the city. Therefore, the group, which is silent and inactive, indicates that the best thing for Hidalgo is to join metropolitan Gazni.

Fourth, a study done by a University team recommended, however reluctantly, that consolidation might, after all, be the only way out. Hidalgo leaders had requested the University to submit ideas for development in 1966. The group, mostly students, had agreed to draw up a plan for revitalizing Hidalgo. The study took a year and concluded with a request for Federal Housing and Urban Development Agency funds to rebuild Hidalgo under the Model Cities program. The plan was to develop residential, water recreation, shopping areas, and flood and drainage control for Hidalgo; and this was to be done by the residents themselves. The request was turned down on the grounds that most of the planning was done by students; that it would be best for Hidalgo to annex; that the community must show political and geographical viability; and that Federal grants went to those communities which had been successful in attracting previous Federal funding. Private developers did not buy the plan either. Thus the University group, in a mood of resignation, suggested that consolidation with Gazni might be the solution, since the latter might be able to receive Federal money (Immel, 1969).

This started a whole flurry of activity by many individuals and groups. It should be pointed out at this juncture, that attempts to consolidate had been defeated twice previously, once in 1961 with a vote of 194 to 120, and a second time in 1962 with a vote of 208 to 139. But this time, with the Hidalgo Development Corporation behind it, the vote on January 9, 1968, was 189 to 180 in favor of consolidation. At this point, to those who favor consolidation, Hidalgo is a fourteen square mile district within metropolitan Gazni, and one of Sonora County's incorporated cities.

To the opponents of consolidation, however, Hidalgo is still an independent town. This group is made up of the majority of Hidalgans, and it includes some Anglos and middle class families. Most of the membership, though, consists of the landless Mexican Americans. The group is represented by the Hidalgo Committee for Fair Election. Results of the January 9, 1968 election, which brought about the consolidation, are being challenged by this group in the courts.[5]

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[5] The suit was first filed by the Hidalgo Committee for Fair

Prior to voting on the Hidalgo-Gazni consolidation, Gazni promised that if, and when, consolidation is approved, it will provide Hidalgo with a fire station, police protection, reserve water supply, a sewage system, lower water rates, a library, recreation facilities, a community center, a city park, street lights, storm drains, paved

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Election in the Sonora County Superior Court in Gazni, and the presiding judge ruled against the group. After hearing only the preliminary evidence, he decided that there was no substantial support to the claim. The committee then appealed to the First District Court of Appeals which affirmed the lower court's decision. The group then appealed to the California Supreme Court, which reversed the lower court's decision. The case was therefore retried in Superior Court in Gazni in September, 1971, which reaffirmed its earlier ruling, validating the election. The group's lawyers have now reappealed the case again and requested change in venue (Hidalgo Study Team, Information Brief on Hidalgo, No. 1, October 23, 1971).

The purpose of the suit is to invalidate the election on three grounds. First, the election is believed invalid by the committee because, according to it, nine illegal voters cast ballots during the election. The nine contested votes were in fact for consolidation, making dubious the 189 to 180 win for consolidation. Second, that Gazni offered jobs, money, homes, and other inducements to Hidalgans to promote consolidation. Third, that the election board violated the California Election Code. Attorneys for the group argue that Mr. Howling, a proponent of consolidation and former mayor of the town, forced election officers to allow voters to vote even though the officers suspected some people to be illegally casting ballots. Another violation of the code is the alleged presence of a sound truck with signs urging people to vote for consolidation inside the limits within which campaigning is banned on election day.

Gazni would like a retrial in the courts. But Hidalgans against consolidation say the best and cheapest thing to do is to have another election. Gazni points out that, legally, since Hidalgo is now part of Gazni, no such election could take place. Thus attorneys for Hidalgo have asked for a change of venue.

Six men and women, Anglo and Mexican American, have testified in the court that they did not live in Hidalgo during the consolidation election on January 9, 1968, and yet offered various reasons for their voting.

Hidalgans have appealed to the Governor of California to appoint three election commissioners to supervise the local election on the issue. The residents of Hidalgo claim they are in a state of limbo, not represented and not part of anything. The last time there was any election for office holders in Hidalgo was 1966.

streets, and a swimming pool. Thus far Gani has delivered on some of its promises, but refuses to do anything further until Hidalgo yields.

Civic Problems

To recapitulate, then, some of the problems confronting the people in Hidalgo are housing, transportation, unemployment, frequent flooding, bad streets, general poverty, lack of recreational facilities, a ubiquitous and pungent odor, dust and mosquitoes in the summer, and mud and dampness in the winter. Social problems include alcoholism, drug abuse, factionalism replete with gossip and rumor, high illiteracy, fear of displacement and dislocation due to consolidation and the pending airport construction, and isolation. It is for these and other reasons that the town attracts sociologists, historians, artists, gamblers, sailors, birdwatchers, fishermen, hunters, psychiatrists, volunteers and social workers.

Hidalgo was the work site for a group of 25 Mexican college students in 1963. The group, called Apostolade Seglar Internacional (equivalent of an International Social Action program), was composed of some United States college students doing social work in Mexico. The group built the Star of the Sea Mission church in Hidalgo.

Another group of seventeen boys and girls from different parts of the United States spent a summer in Hidalgo, painting some houses and working on the park area. This was arranged by the American Friends Service Committee (Ludlow, 1966).

Many developers have appeared with various designs for Hidalgo's overall development, but then they have lost interest and disappeared.

One of the biggest stumbling blocks seems to be the lack of proper drainage in the town. Because of its water problems, and the lack of interest the Federal Government has shown, no investor has been willing to take the risk and build there.

Why do people live in Hidalgo in spite of all the hazards and disadvantages that exist there? Various families offer different reasons for staying. Those who own homes and property must hang on to it, because nobody is interested in buying. Others live there because it is much cheaper than other places in the neighborhood; and these people cannot afford to move out. Others like the cool breeze of the nearby water; they enjoy the climate. Still others, like a former mayor, think of Hidalgo residents as pioneers crossing the plains and say, "Where would we be if they had given up and said it was too cold, or too wet--this would still be Indian country, that's what!" (*Gazni News*, February 8, 1956, p. 19.) And then there are those who say, "It's my home and I am stuck with it. Every penny we have in the world is tied up in this place--you don't just go off and leave it." And they like the people, maybe; they know everyone in town.

The Mexican American Subculture

Below is a brief description of the Mexican American subculture as manifested in Hidalgo. It is based on the investigator's own observations and interviews in the town and elsewhere, as well as on insights offered by other observers of the Mexican American subculture, notably Madsen (1964). It should be made clear at the beginning that the descriptions are not and cannot be equally applicable to all and everyone who could be categorized as Mexican American. The followers of La Raza are very diverse.

Madsen (1964) divides the Mexican Americans into three levels of acculturation to the mainstream culture. The first group, the least acculturated, consists of traditional Mexican Americans or recent immigrants who usually come from the lower class and who live by the folk culture. The second group is semi-acculturated, middle class, and caught in the conflict between the two cultures. And the third group, mainly upper class Mexican Americans, consists of those who have completely internalized the mainstream culture and who have achieved "success" in the American society. This last group, according to Madsen (1964), has acquired, along with other Anglo values, patriotism and belief in science and progress.

In Hidalgo there are no upper class Mexican Americans who may be considered completely acculturated or who can be said to have achieved success and/or equal status in the Anglo world. There are at least three families who might be considered as semi-acculturated and middle class. One family owns the small cement plant, the other owns the wrecking yard, and members of the third family have semi-professional jobs in a nearby metropolis. The rest of the Mexican American families fall, by and large, into the low-income, traditional, and unacculturated category. It should be pointed out, however, that Madsen's categories may not be totally adequate or valid when applied to Hidalgo. Furthermore, it can be asserted that whatever their SES or level of acculturation, almost all Mexican Americans share, to some degree, the following cultural traits: religiousity, close familial ties, belief in a concept of manliness with women as desirable quantities, and strong adherence to the concepts of honor and (self-) respect.

God and religion play important roles in every aspect of the life of Mexican Americans. They perceive God as an all powerful force and man as only a part of nature and subject to God's will. They are somewhat fatalistic; and they accept life and events as they take place. In their opinion, God, rather than man, is the controlling force, the force which destines everything. They live for the day and leave the future to God's care, and when they make mistakes, they blame the circumstances rather than themselves.

Family is the most valued institution among Mexican Americans. One's loyalties go mostly to his or her family from which the individual derives his/her satisfaction and affective support. Within the family, respect is based on age and sex, with the oldest men, and males in general, enjoying the most respect and authority.

The family is the main source of identification in all classes of Mexican American society. Members of the group, in general, classify an individual first as a member of his or her family and second as an individual with certain merits and demerits. The family is the place where one finds love, refuge, and security in an otherwise hostile world, full of envy, greed, conspiracies, etc. As long as one has a family, he or she does not have to worry, there is ultimately a place to return to. But if the family protects, so does it demand. One must never embarrass his or her family. Some Mexican Americans consider the strong family solidarity detrimental to personal interests and advancement. Family ties are very strong in the lower class and unacculturated families.

Most Mexican Americans maintain strong kinship ties with members of the extended family. The size of the family is further expanded by the *compadre* institution. "*Compadres* or coparents are sponsors who assume carefully defined roles in relation to the other participants in a religious ceremony establishing ritual kinship. The most important *compadres* are the baptismal godparents of one's children" (Madsen, 1964, p. 47). *Compadres* are bound together by tradition and carry mutual obligations for help and respect. This relationship is formal and dignified. *Compadres* are chosen from respected families, equal in socioeconomic status.

Being a "real man" constitutes another value among Mexican American men: the ideal male role is defined by *machismo* or manliness; thus men constantly try to validate the assumption that men are stronger, more intelligent, and more reliable than women. This concept of manliness is closely linked with maintaining one's own image and honor as well as that of his family.

Men consider women as a desirable quantity which must be conquered; and men are the conquerors. A true man is one who is proud, self-reliant, and virile. The Mexican American women are considered weak, submissive, respectful to men; and they must guard their purity and be protected by their family and/or husband. The wife is expected to show absolute respect and obedience to her husband; she enjoys being subordinate to her husband. A wife is not expected to resent her husband's sexual adventures.

Honor and self-respect are other values held by the Mexican Americans. These are closely linked with lack of indebtedness or obligations to people outside of the family circle. This may be one reason why Mexican Americans in general shun obtaining loans, becoming members of unions, or asking for other favors; they find all this humiliating and a sign of weakness.

The husband and wife share in teaching their children how to conduct themselves with dignity and honor in social interaction. Parents are supposed to serve as models and give specific instructions to their children. An educated person is one who is well brought up and who is polite, socially acceptable, and useful. Informal education in the family is considered more important than formal schooling for this purpose. The educated person displays courtesy in social interaction. He knows how to avoid offending others and how to defend himself when necessary. He respects elders and conducts himself in such a way as to receive the respect of others. He is expected to maintain proper relationships with relatives, friends, neighbors, and others. His relationships are formalized. Proper interpersonal relationships must preserve the individuality and dignity of each one, and it must never involve offense to a friend or acquaintance; questioning the motives and beliefs of others or proving them wrong are considered offenses.

Mexican American children from traditional families learn at an early age that their mothers can and do influence their fathers in subtle ways. The wife's main task, though, is to please her husband, and as a mother she is also responsible for the well-being of her children. She makes sure that her children are brought up properly. The father makes sure that the children stay in line; he is the one who delivers punishment when it is deemed necessary; he is the one who makes sure that all family members behave properly; and he is the one that makes sure the family public image is maintained.

The relationship between parents and children is relatively permissive during early childhood. The small child is considered as an _angelito_ (angel). The child enjoys great freedom and the affection and attention of all adults. But an abrupt change in adult attitude toward children occurs at the child's puberty. The father stops showing affection and begins to discipline his children; while the ties between the mother and children continue to strengthen. The children adore their mothers, obey their fathers, but respect both.

Mexican Americans do not like to compete or recite things in class. _La Raza_ members dread failure and ridicule from either Anglo or Mexican American classmates that competitive situations can produce. So they try to avoid such situations. Gaining material and social success may belittle one's friends. So Mexican Americans value inconspicuous consumption. Envy is very strongly felt and expressed among members of this group, and may be aroused by any kind of success.

Gossip, ridicule, rumor, and direct action are mechanisms common for maintaining social control as well as for undermining the status of those one does not like.

The above is a brief outline of the Mexican American subculture in which most of Coyote's pupils grow up. It must be pointed out, however, that the description may apply more to some Mexican Americans in Hidalgo than to others. Furthermore, the Mexican American subculture in Hidalgo, as elsewhere, is subject to acculturative forces and is changing constantly.

Chicanismo

Most of the Mexican Americans in Hidalgo identify with being Mexican. They speak Spanish, eat Mexican food, listen to Latin music, celebrate Mexican holidays, display the Mexican flag during certain fiestas, wear Mexican costume on certain occasions, and respond to the voice and symbol of chicanismo and La Raza. It is true that some of the second and third generation Mexican Americans do not speak Spanish, and that the established settlers call the new immigrants "dirty Mexicans," but all of them do consider themselves as members of La Raza. Many of them visit Mexico whenever they can; but they say they will not go back and settle there.

There were several celebrations at Coyote during the Mexican Independence Day. Two of the Mexican American adults wore Mexican national costume; the teachers' room in the school was decorated with Mexican posters, signs, and table cloths; there were free enchiladas, punch, rice, salad, and hot sauce (all Mexican style) for the teachers at the school. Some classes made Mexican flags and wore them. When the investigator asked some children why they were making and wearing the flags, the answer was, "I don't know what it is, but I like it." Anglos and Mexican Americans alike were smiling and laughing, but not one of the Anglo school personnel talked about Mexico, its independence, or the efforts the Mexican Americans had spent on preparing for the day.

It was a Saturday. There was a fairly large parade which started at the school; and there was a fiesta, the first of its kind in the town. The parade was envisaged and run by the Hidalgo Health Clinic and the school. Its purpose was to celebrate the Mexican Independence Day (September 16). About 200 adults and children, 25 vehicles including large trucks, pick-ups, cars, and a handful of horseback-riders paraded through the town. A queen and two maids of honor had been selected the night before. There were four adults and about 70 children from the school who took part in it; almost all were Mexican American. The only Anglos, apart from the three firemen and the three people from the school, were the five policemen who watched the ceremonies. The parade was followed by a horse race, dancing, and beer drinking at two locations. The ceremonies appeared very spontaneous (even the parade route was not decided upon), but they were colorful and joyous. The only dampening was an expressed dissatisfaction at the poor response from the town as a whole, and from the Anglos in particular.

Mexican cultural heritage in the form of speaking Spanish, eating Mexican food, listening to Mexican music, and celebrating Mexican holidays and fiestas continue to exist in Hidalgo. In fact, many adults do not know English at all. The youth and the children, however, use

English almost exclusively, and many of the parents indicated that they wanted priority given to English in the school. One parent said, "I think that English is the most important. Spanish would come next. Because you can get along better. If you want to work, then you have to know English. If you don't, you don't get no work." And so it would appear that the older generation favors bilingualism, if not total assimilation into the mainstream sociocultural world.

The youth and children, however, seem to have mixed feelings about acculturation; and this may be laid at the door of the Chicano Movement which *has* reached Hidalgo.[6] Chicanismo questions and challenges the assumptions of older Mexican Americans, the Anglos, and their culture.

Chicanismo seems to have spread its roots in the youth and even very young children in Hidalgo. The youth hold meetings, programs, and functions geared toward the Chicano Movement at large. One comes across posters, signs, and T-shirts portraying the movement's presence in the town. One also comes across youngsters dressed in the Brown Beret style. And one hears the slogan of "Chicano Power" every now and then. An anecdote may illustrate the point. The investigator was observing in one of the lower grades. The teacher announced to the class that it would be nice to make and send get-well cards for "x" since she had been sick and absent for a long time. The students started to make their own cards and drew or wrote on them whatever they wanted to. Several boys came up to the investigator and asked him to write "Chicano Power" on their cards. When asked what it meant, the answer was, with a giggle, "I don't know, I just like it."

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[6] According to Moore and Cuellar (1970), chicanismo began in Southern California in the second half of the '60's. Supposedly the movement began with young Mexican Americans, who were to a large extent "Anglicized."

The Chicano movement is very heterogeneous and it cuts across social class, generation, and regional lines. Its scope of activities includes political, economic, social, racial, and cultural fronts. It is a social movement, and its dynamic force is its ideology of Chicanismo. The ideology constitutes a challenge to the Anglo beliefs concerning Mexicans as well as to the beliefs of Mexican Americans themselves. Chicanos advocate confrontation instead of traditional forms of political articulation. It is a militant movement, and it is symbolized by the Brown Berets. The movement focuses on the experience of the Mexican Americans in the United States. It tries to construct a new image for the Mexican Americans by appealing to their culture, race, and history. They reject material success and stress unity: it is cultural nationalism.

Summary

Chapter III offered a brief description of Hidalgo township: its history, starting in the 1840's, a description of the town and town life today, and its socioeconomic conditions. The town is about 70 percent Mexican American. Most of its residents live in over-crowded and substandard homes. Unemployment ranges unusually high; about 80 percent of its people receive some form of welfare. We also saw that illiteracy in Hidalgo is very high and that the level of education is very low; furthermore, many of the Mexican Americans cannot speak English. The handful of industrial, commercial, and entertainment enterprises in the town hardly employ or cater to any Mexican Americans. Apart from a small park, Hidalgans have no communal recreational facilities. While, at the same time, the town's people must live with the ever present threat of floods, disease, poverty, dislocation, and the possibility of losing their identity as a close community.

The town is also afflicted with numerous social problems and severe factionalism. It is under such circumstances that Chicano children in Hidalgo are born and raised. And it is here that Coyote School is attempting to face the challenge of carrying out its functions.

Chapter IV treats the various (educational) institutions in Hidalgo. These emerged from concern for education and general welfare in Hidalgo. As it will become evident, however, these institutions have not only facilitated education in Hidalgo, but have also, perhaps unwittingly, hampered it seriously.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL, CULTURAL, RELIGIOUS, EDUCATIONAL, AND HEALTH INSTITUTIONS IN HIDALGO

Community Service Organization (CSO)

The politicization of Mexican Americans in the Southwestern United States began after World War II. This politicization was prefaced by several fundamental social, economic, and cultural changes among Mexican Americans, changes largely due to the Chicano participation in the war and to the urbanization process. But Mexican Americans found the cities as inhospitable as their rural areas. And this situation along with their rising education and wealth created a middle class among urban Mexican Americans who were dissatisfied. They joined forces with liberal whites, civil rights and religious leaders, and became more vocal, especially in Southern California.

A product of these activities was the Community Service Organization (CSO) born in the Los Angeles area, but now with branches in many parts of the country. The money supporting it came from the Economic and Social Opportunities Department of the Federal Government, and a small grant from the Ford Foundation. One of CSO's branches is located in Hidalgo. It directs its efforts toward immediate local social, political, and economic problems of the community such as restricted housing, police problems, segregation in schools, and unemployment.

The organization's approach is "grassroots," that is, the development of local organizational leadership and participation by all. The CSO in Hidalgo is governed by a seven member Board of Directors, all of whom come from the community. It is composed of two Anglo and four Mexican American men, and a Mexican American woman.

Characteristic of CSO is its assumption that the various institutions within the American sociocultural system are basically good, responsive, and legitimate; the CSO therefore works mainly through ballots, negotiation, and litigation. Involving Mexican Americans in the political processes has been a major CSO approach as well as a goal.

CSO was very powerful and instrumental in improving the lot of the Mexican Americans up until the early '60's, but it has declined in recent years. Withdrawal of support by the Industrial Areas Foundation and loss of leadership such as that of César Chávez have been two reasons. Another reason for the decline has been the emergence of several competing organizations within the Mexican American community (Moore and Cuellar, 1970). Those that compete for Hidalgo will be described later in this chapter.

The CSO office in Hidalgo is staffed by an Anglo girl and her Mexican American secretary. Both of them live outside the town and commute to work daily. It has limited funds for its operation, and it serves mainly as a center for information and referral. It endeavors to help the people in the township acquire the various services available to them in metropolitan Gazni; these services are in the areas of housing, welfare, education, child care, senior citizen support, social security, naturalization, consumer education, transportation, recreation, cultural activities, and health services (CSO Information Sheet).

But with only two staff members, a small building, and limited funds, the Organization says that it can achieve very little on any one of these points. For instance, a respondent had this to say about CSO:

> In general education and consumer education it is basically referral, or assisting students in filling out applications. . . . We don't have the services here, we just get them in touch with the services.

On cultural activities the same respondent added:

> There is really nothing that we have done to promote cultural activities; we don't have the facilities or the funds to do that. But I haven't received any contacts from people wanting to know where to get cultural activities. . . . They [the CSO organization in general] don't have the funds to get the technical assistance to become sophisticated. I don't think the leaders, if there are any leaders, are that sophisticated. And there certainly isn't the staff.

Hidalgo Family Health Center

Prior to the establishment of the Center the community completely lacked any medical care. There were no doctors or medical facilities either in Hidalgo or the immediate vicinity. The nearest health facility was eleven miles away, and there was no public transportation at that time, either. The establishment of any medical center in Hidalgo seemed impossible because of its endemic poverty and lack of resources for revenue. And yet the need for medical care and facilities in the community was so imperative that the community felt that something had to be done.

Thus the Hidalgo Health Center was born out of community concern over the lack of medical facilities. In 1966 a group of community people, mostly Mexican American, formed an organization called the Hidalgo Citizens' Committee to Insure Opportunity Now. This committee designated another committee to seek solutions to Hidalgo's health problems and dissolved itself. Its offspring, the Community Service Organization (CSO), was formed in mid 1966, and assumed a leadership role in the town. CSO established a small night clinic in the community. But the small clinic could not satisfy the overwhelming need and demand for medical services, so by the end of 1966 it had to be expanded.

Community leaders who were mostly Mexican American, with the advice of a young Anglo, sought a grant from the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity in order to establish a health center in Hidalgo, for Hidalgo, and managed by Hidalgans. OEO agreed to provide the funds directly to the community without any intermediaries, thus making it the first community-controlled clinic in the nation. The Ford Foundation also made a small contribution initially.

Community response was so enthusiastic that about 12,000 hours of labor was donated to the building and remodeling of the Center's facilities. In this way CSO had saved money, increased community involvement, and enabled Hidalgans to acquire self-confidence and pride.

It is estimated that the clinic serves about 24,000 patients per year, one-third of whom are Caucasians. It is continually expanding, with its present budget at 1.6 million dollars yearly; and the plant occupies an area of 22,000 square feet. The Center is open 9 a.m. to 10 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays; 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. on Tuesdays and Fridays; and 10 a.m. to 12 p.m. on Saturdays. Emergency service is available at all times.

The clinic is more than just a health center, though. For many Hidalgans it is their civic, social, and cultural center as well. By the same token it is also the main source of friction in the community, which will be described later in the chapter. And it is a monument to the community's determination. As one member put it, "It is Hidalgo's most significant achievement."

The broad goals of the Hidalgo Health Center can be summarized as follows. The first goal is to provide quality and inexpensive health, dental, and optical services to people living in Hidalgo township. The second is to help the people raise their general health standards through advice, diagnosis, treatment, and rehabilitation. The third goal is to improve the indigenous economic situation through training, employment, and referral services. The fourth goal is to improve general economic, health, educational, housing, and social conditions in the town through studies, legal and social services, and so on. The fifth object of the Center is to run itself according to efficient and sound business practices, demonstrating the feasibility of community-controlled social service agencies. The last goal of the Center is the establishment and maintenance of an efficient Disaster Committee for emergencies such as floods, earthquakes, tidal waves, and other natural phenomena (Hidalgo Family Health Center, Inc.).

The Hidalgo Health Center attempts to provide a comprehensive and quality health care for its outpatients. It dispenses drugs from its own stock or the nearby pharmacies; it offers preliminary emergency treatment; it conducts routine X-rays; and it operates preventative health care through comprehensive health surveys. The Center also offers comprehensive dental and optometric services.

On the average about one hundred patients visit the Center every day. The Center extends its services to about one thousand families who are registered there. It also refers patients who need special and complicated treatment to the more advanced and better equipped hospitals in the vicinity for minimal fees.

The Center also operates a home-visit program entitled Outreach which includes a wide variety of services such as prenatal examination, shopping hints, and follow-up for patients who have just returned from the hospital. Outreach teams consist of several individuals specializing in different fields, such as a general physician, a pediatrician, a clinical nurse, a public health nurse, and a public health trainee. They make about 600 home visits a month.

Members of Outreach, family health workers, and nurses from the clinic follow up on the patients of the clinic by visiting them in their homes and making sure that medical advice is followed properly. They visit members of the community and advise the latter on matters of diet, physical and mental hygiene, medical check-ups and preventive medical care, child rearing, and other matters. Clinic personnel also advise the community on the availability of medical and social services in Sonora County at large. They advise the people on general health and welfare measures. And, finally, they gather feedback and information about the clinic, the medical problems, and the needs of the community.

The Hidalgo Family Health Center is financed by the Office of Economic Opportunity, and funding is renewed on a yearly basis. Fees for doctors and other services are nominal, determined by the patient's ability to pay. The Center provides transportation for those patients who need it. It operates two shuttle buses to and from the Center.

The Health Center is governed by a nine member Board of Directors. These are elected annually from among the Center's members, by the members from the target area. Currently, two women and seven men serve on the Board of Directors. Two of the Board members are followers of the CSO. All Board members are Mexican American. The Center's professional staff consists of about 170 men and women, including the doctors, dentists, registered nurses, and the paraprofessional personnel. Seventy-five in all are Anglos; the remainder are Mexican American. At the time of this writing, about forty of the Center's employees were living in Hidalgo itself, while the remainder commuted.

The Hidalgo Family Health Center offers more than medical services to the community. For one thing, as Hidalgo's major employer it is the chief source of income for some. It serves as a community center for the town's people. Five Health Center sitters look after the children in an adjacent playground while their parents receive treatment. It offers legal assistance and advice to the community. It runs a food co-op which collects, stores, and distributes dry foodstuffs to the needy. It is the home of Hidalgo's monthly newspaper, La Voz de Hidalgo (The Voice of Hidalgo), which is distributed door-to-door to all the residents. The Center provides office space for the county agencies and social workers; Hidalgo's food stamp program is based there. The Center is engaged in a study of Hidalgo's economic and housing situation, and how to improve the two. It also conducts training programs.

Training constitutes an important aspect of the Hidalgo Family Health Center. Regular yearly programs are conducted for the training of medical assistants, technicians, dental assistants, laboratory and X-ray assistants, business and clerical staff, Outreach workers, and others; candidates must have graduated from high school. The training combines ten hours of theoretical and classroom work with thirty hours on-the-job training per week. Training is offered at the junior college level. And it is recognized and accredited by a nearby community college. The Center graduated nine trainees in its fifth class early in 1972 (La Voz de Hidalgo, January, 1972).

According to health officials from the Center, and the school nurse, the people in the community are beset with a wide variety of health problems. There is no effective immunization and vaccination against such sicknesses as rabies, diptheria, and so on. More than fifty percent of the people in the community have never visited a dentist. A recent dental survey among school children showed that about ten percent of the children needed emergency dental treatment, another twenty percent needed such treatment as soon as possible, and most children had some problem with their teeth. The Health Center aims to redress this, but there is a four month waiting list for it, and some segments of the population refuse to seek or accept help there.

Hidalgo has many problems related to childbirth. At least fifteen illegitimate births were reported in 1971. Every year there are several cases of poor or self-inflicted abortion, leading to serious health problems. And there are always several cases of unwanted pregnancies.

Drug abuse and its resultant undesirable outcomes is another serious problem. Drug abuse is found not only among youngsters, but among adults as well. There was at least one death due to drug abuse during this investigation, and several cases of overdose and arrests. As one resource person put it:

> In my opinion, drugs are a tremendous problem out here. Part of the problem is that I don't hear so much from the people. I think it's a kind of consensus from the administration, saying it's a problem. A few of the people will come out and say it, but nobody will do anything. And so the kids don't think it is a problem.

Another respondent described the drug problem in these words:

> I'm very concerned about it. Not only with the older children, but we know that it exists with the adult population. And in this 'koffee klatch' that I was in last week, I heard of a home in the area where the 16 year old boy was arrested last summer, that had quite a group going there in the late hours of the summer nights. And he is now at a boys' ranch. But the mother in this home was particularly concerned, because she knew that he was passing out the various pills to the younger children of the area. . . . we have a

> couple of children that we have suspected [of taking pills] and are watching, simply because of their reactions and behavior. It's just something different that you notice about a child on a particular day. And this happens to be in the upper grades . . ., of course we are just suspicious. However, I did contact the mothers about a substance that was being used by the children, a bowl of stuff, that was very much like the airplane glue; but this I did report to the health department, and they're doing a study on it right now.

Other sicknesses such as impetigo, chicken pox, measles, mumps, strep throat, bronchitis, and the flu are very common among Hidalgans. These and other diseases which are highly communicable are the most common among the school children, especially during the cold and wet seasons. Many children either come to school sick and must be sent home, or miss many days of school because of sickness. As illustration, in one fourth grade one day, there were only eighteen children present out of twenty-eight, the rest being sick and at home.

Religious Institutions

The people in Hidalgo are divided into the following four major denominations. About 70 percent of the people belong to the Catholic Church, 14 percent to the Assembly of God, 10 percent to the Presbyterian Church, and about five percent to the Pentecostal. There are also a few followers of the Jehovah's Witnesses, but these do not have a definite place of worship. The four major sects all have churches in Hidalgo, although none of the priests, Anglo or Mexican American, live in the community. As one Father put it, "These people are too poor to support any priests." The church buildings are small, simple, and old, but well-kept.

Services are conducted both in English and in Spanish. Church attendance is very high for all age groups, but, according to one of the priests, donations are poor and confessions, too, are going down. About this the priest said, "These people don't believe in any change or changing; and I just don't have the time to take all the confessions and listen to them." He added that Catholicism constitutes a very pervasive and important influence in the lives of these people. Catholicism was reported to inculcate in these people a casual attitude toward life, emphasizing that the worldly life is only transient.

Of all the churches, the Catholic Church is the most organized. It has La Asociacion Guadalupana de Hidalgo as its functioning arm. The association was described as an elitist and multipurpose organization. It raises money for the church, arranges fiestas, prepares and sells the minudo soup every Sunday, collects food and clothes to redistribute to the poor; and it serves as the church council managing the church's affairs. The Catholic Church conducts two catechism classes for children, but the Father admits that the attendance is poor. Services in English are attended by younger Chicanos and Anglo members of the community. In general, the people have great respect for religion, the church, and the priests. Religion and the church dominate every aspect of life in Hidalgo.

Hidalgo Day Care Center

The idea of the day care center originated in the Presbyterian Church in Hidalgo in 1967. A steering committee from the church, in collaboration with the Community Service Organization, decided on establishing a day care center in Hidalgo. The center was to serve three main purposes: freeing Hidalgo mothers to seek and maintain employment, providing child care and educational facilities for the children, and training personnel from Hidalgo. The day care center was officially begun in July, 1969, in the attempt to serve Hidalgo in the following ways:

1. By providing a needed language and enrichment program to culturally deprived children.

2. By permitting mothers to seek employment to supplement low family incomes.

3. By providing employment at the center to persons who would otherwise be potential welfare recipients.

4. By training aides so, after the training period, they will be qualified to be employed in other day care centers.

5. By serving meals that will supply each child's nutritional needs (History of the Hidalgo Day Care Center, p. 2).

The day care center is managed by a nine member Board of Directors, five of whom are Anglo with the remainder being Mexican American. It was staffed by ten people in January, 1972, consisting of a director--an Anglo lady living outside Hidalgo; an assistant director--a Mexican American living outside Hidalgo; five Mexican American aides who were part-time students at the nearby community college or in adult education programs; a Mexican American lady cook; a Mexican American custodian and a Mexican American yard and repairman. According to the director, the center is an equal opportunity employer with about fifty percent of the salary going to the residents of Hidalgo. The center also utilizes volunteers who are mostly Anglo ladies from outside of Hidalgo. Fees are nominal and are based on the family's income.

The center is open from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. The schedule includes snacks, lunch, study, rest, and play. There is considerable emphasis on oral English, recognizing the English alphabet, numbers, concept formation, art, cooking, story telling, nursery rhymes, music, and dancing. The staff--especially the Anglo members--emphasize "manners" and discipline, such as saying "please" and "thank you," taking turns, and standing in a straight line. The staff made frequent use of such commands as "be quiet," "heads on the table," "fold your arms," "wait," "tip toe," "May I see your eyes" (meaning pay attention to me and what I say). It was apparent that there was political socialization and civic education also taking place, as evidenced by the presence of the American flag, lists of rules on the wall, and the teaching of the following song to the children. An Anglo volunteer gathered all of the 15 boys and girls and announced to them that she had "something new and important to teach." Then she gave a boy and a girl the American flags, and had them hold up the flags while facing the circle of the other children. The teacher sat at the piano and tried to teach this song:

> My country's flag takes care of me
> A good American I will be

She repeated the song several times, and then stopped. A few minutes later the same teacher sang and played on the piano, "It's a Small

World After All," while the children danced.

Most of the center's programs and activities are conducted in English in order to "prepare the children for school." There is some evidence of using the Spanish language and culture.

At the beginning the center was financed by several organizations and agencies, but at the present time it is funded by Title V funds from the Federal Government. Building facilities are provided by the Presbyterian Church in Hidalgo. It can accommodate forty children at the same time. It accepts children between the ages of two years and six months and six years and nine months. In general, about 80 percent of the children are Mexican American and 20 percent Anglo. The average number of children is 30, but the center works at full capacity (about 40 children) from June to September since that is the picking and canning season and many mothers work.

Families who want to enroll their children in the day care center must meet the following specifications. The mother must be working or engaged in some form of training or education. The family must pay a small fee based on its economic status. The child must be healthy. And the family must carry the child to and from the day care center.

The Hidalgo Teen Club

This club consists of boys and girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen. It is housed in a small two-room cottage donated by the Catholic Church. The building looks very old and poorly equipped. The smaller room, with its handful of outdated books, is used for quiet study, while the bigger room, with an old ping-pong table, is used for play There are several posters about Chicano power on the walls. A basketball court and a small playground are attached to the club. The club is manned by an outside Anglo, paid by Gazni. It is open three evenings a week, for two hours each night. The club is limited to this age group because in the past, when it was open to all youngsters, it reportedly became a trouble spot for Hidalgo, and it experienced frequent fights and vandalism. Even today many parents show great concern about gossip about their children "getting into trouble" at the club. Among other things, the club seems to serve as a place where Hidalgo youngsters can think about Hidalgo, Chicanos, and Chicanismo.

Adult Education

Currently there are three adult education classes sponsored by the Metropolitan Adult Education Program, whose main office is located in Gazni. Two of these classes are devoted to the teaching of English as a Second Language, while the third class teaches basic vocational education, namely certain arts and crafts such as sewing, cooking, and art, mostly to women. One of the English as a Second Language (ESL) classes is taught by one of the school teachers, and is held two evenings per week in the school. Attendance is open to all adults and it averages about twelve men and women. The second ESL class is taught by an outside Anglo lady, and it is held three mornings per week in the Presbyterian Church. Twenty-eight men and women are registered in this class, but the usual attendance averages about ten. The third class is also taught by an outsider, and it too is held in the Presbyterian Church, one morning per week. It teaches sewing, cooking, and art, and it is attended by about fifteen ladies from the community.

The investigator observed these adult education classes and talked to the instructors as well as to the participants. It was obvious that the learners were enthusiastic about learning, and the teachers were very competent. But it also was clear that the scope, content, and operation of the three classes, with a total average attendance of 35, was far from adequate for the 1,300 people in Hidalgo. The students said that there was tremendous need for many more courses in English, Spanish, civic studies, and vocational education; and the community members interviewed showed much interest in them. They also felt that attendance would be better if these courses met at times and places which would be more convenient for the learners, rather than making their attendance either impossible or embarrassing. The Metropolitan Adult Education Center requires that there must be a minimum of fourteen adults who can indicate the need for, and interest in, learning a certain subject or vocation. It is only under this condition that the authorities will authorize, offer, and sponsor the course; otherwise, according to the authorities, "it would not be feasible and economical." Second, in a community which is about 70 percent Catholic, and where there is a very deep loyalty to the Church, the fact that two of the courses are conducted in a Presbyterian church presents a problem. Third, no provision has been made for transportation, baby-sitting, sickness, or the work season and schedule of the adults. Many adults who would like to attend these courses cannot do so because they do not have cars or cannot drive. Others who are interested cannot attend because they have children to take care of. Others miss the courses because the timing conflicts with their work. Still, there are those who would like to learn a marketable skill, but it is not taught. But more important are the issues of enrollment and the deep factionalism as they affect adult education.

At the present time there is no all-out organized effort to enroll people in these courses; it is done through word of mouth and on a haphazard basis. People are not necessarily aware of what is available, or how to find out about it. Furthermore, it may be somewhat unrealistic to expect unanimity on courses, the time, and the place for learning in a community in which there is factionalism, hostility, and open animosity. People simply do not want to be around each other, even on such a neutral ground as the school. At the present time the evening courses are attended by the proponents of the CSO, while the morning classes are attended by the pro-clinic people. The health clinic does not agree to the use of its community center for adult education; and its babysitting services are offered only to clinic patients of only healthy children.

Library

Hidalgo residents were served for the first time in 1968 through a bookmobile from the Gazni public library. A year later, in 1969, the Gazni public library established a local branch for Hidalgo. It is housed in a small, 38 year old building which had been used as a meeting hall for the former Hidalgo City Council and more recently as an Economic Opportunities Center and Health Clinic. The library is presently staffed by a Chinese library assistant, and its one room is open to the public. The room is subdivided into two bathrooms, which are locked most of the time, a small storage room, and the main reading room. The library maintains about 1,100 hard-bound books, and of these about one hundred are written in Spanish. Most of the books are for light reading. More books can be brought in by request, individually, from the main branch.

The library also provides a "story hour" for the children once a week. According to the librarian, the library is not used much, and the parents and children both indicate they do not frequent it. In fact, the library has also been vandalized by some youngsters. Circulation has been about 128 books per month, which the librarian indicated was very low. The library also serves as a California Water Service Company payment station. It is open only on certain days and for limited amounts of time, usually falling between 1 p.m. and 5 p.m.

Power, Conflict, and Conflict Resolution

Social-political power in Hidalgo is based on wealth, kinship, and success in holding better and prestigious occupations. On the Anglo side there are about seven families who are considered wealthy, established, and who are very powerful. They include some big landowners, former city officials, property owners, and some of the more successful current businessmen. These people have lived in the township for very long periods of time. They do not socialize with their Mexican American neighbors, and they reportedly look down on the latter. They do not attend most of the functions held by the Chicanos, unless it affects them directly and seriously. And these are the ones who would like to see Hidalgo annexed to Gazni because, in their opinion, "that is the only way to develop."

Among Mexican Americans, power and prestige is based on the size of one's family and/or the number of kinsmen, the kind of career one holds, and the position held in the local agencies. Wealth does not seem to play a major role, since most of them are more or less at the same socioeconomic level. There is only one family which has become quite wealthy. The degree of formal education is not an important variable either, since there is only one adult who is college graduate, and, also, the Mexican Americans say that "it is not how much education you have, but how you use it" that makes a good person.

There are at least three major issues which have led to very stubborn and intense conflict among the residents in Hidalgo. These issues permeate all kinds and levels of interaction among people, from the examination of a child's teeth to voting for some important position, to attending adult education classes. One major conflict in Hidalgo is between the groups who are pro-Clinic and those who are pro-CSO. Proponents of the CSO simply refuse to deal with the Clinic or pro-Clinic people. They refuse any service from the Clinic, and will bear heavy medical costs elsewhere to avoid it. They have warned the school that it may not take their children to the Clinic, even if it is an emergency, or let their children be examined by anyone from the Clinic. The pro-CSO ladies help with the breakfast and lunch program, while the pro-Clinic people serve as aides, so that the two groups will not have to deal with each other.

Most of the Health Center people are blood relatives of the CSO people; but it is said that, except for the one college graduate, the Clinic people are less educated, less sophisticated, and more trouble making. CSO members claim that they are a much older and established organization with a tradition of serving Hidalgo. They claim that the Health Center was, after all, their idea, wrested from them. And finally, they accuse the Clinic people of nepotism, heavy-handedness, mismanagement, inefficiency, and so forth. CSO has tried four times to close the Clinic and, in fact, it succeeded at least on one occasion. It closed the Clinic for a day. But CSO lost the case eventually, and it made CSO look like an "enemy of the people"; and this made the Clinic appear righteous and all the more powerful. CSO people made several attempts to get elected to the Clinic Board of Directors, but they failed. The current Board of Directors does, however, have two CSO people on it, and, for a while, it appeared as if the conflict was being lessened. But now the Clinic people are charging the two people with trying to pass inaccurate information to Washington, trying to take over, and trying to destroy the Clinic from within.

The interesting fact is that both agencies are funded by the Federal Government, both claim to be right, and both mean well for the community. The concept of "limited goods" seems to have particular application here. In a situation where there are not many prizes to be distributed around, even small things assume a great deal of importance; and if there are no issues, people tend to create them.

The second major conflict is between those who are for consolidation with Gazni and those who are against it. This division appears to be more along class than ethnic lines; the rich elements, who happen to be mostly Anglo, are for consolidation, while the poor elements, who happen to be mostly Chicano, are against it. The property owners are allegedly motivated by self-interest because consolidation with Gazni will bring money, development, and business; i.e., with consolidation the landowners and the entrepreneurs will thrive more than ever. As it is, Hidalgo does not attract any development, thus their wealth cannot be realized. The pro-consolidation forces, championed by the nonprofit Hidalgo Development Corporation, are committed to consolidation and are not sparing any means to bring it about.

But the impoverished Chicanos say that they are against consolidation because it is cheap to live in Hidalgo; they say that they will starve once they move out; and this, they argue, will be a direct result of consolidation. Hidalgo is the only Chicano stronghold in the entire region, and it gives them identity, security, and pride. Some own their own homes and have invested all their money in them, and they are afraid their homes will be condemned and they will lose them. But, above all, they simply do not seem to trust the Anglo power structure in Gazni. They are sure they will have to move, and once they do they will never get compensated for their property. After all, they contend that it happened that way to some of their friends who lived on the south side of Gazni not too long ago.

It should also be pointed out that most of the CSO members are for consolidation while the Clinic people are bitterly against it. So that feud permeates this issue as well as all others.

The third major issue is the threat of building an airport on the site of the town of Hidalgo, levelling especially the residential quarters. This proposal finds support only among the landowners. Otherwise, most people, no matter what their stance on other issues, are opposed to this.

One Chicano expressed the underlying issues facing Hidalgans in this manner:

> You've got to know the whole history of Hidalgo. Hidalgo was illegally taken away from Cantinas, and now we can document that--Nicolas I. Cantinas, the old man who was the boss. This was part of the area (it's very complicated, you see). Anyway, when the American government took over after the conquest of California, they used as evidence that there had been a process in court to take this land away from Cantinas, and gave it to Captain Hidalgo, who at that time had died, and his descendents had scattered--just a few puppets whom they could buy the land from. So there has always been interest in Gazni, who has always wanted to control for hundreds of years now this area. Because this used to be a barge area all the way from the metropolis before the road was built in the late 1800's, it was a lot simpler to ship the boats all the way down from the metropolis for the goods. This was regarded as a valuable transportation area. So there has always been fighting for Hidalgo. This is a tradition, and a lot of people don't understand that. You guys are just Johnny-come-latelies, you have never been involved from the beginning. But, anyway, Hidalgo has been poor since modern times, since the 1920's when the canneries broke down and what have you, here; the transportation system broke down when the roads were built well. And in a sense the trucking industry really destroyed it. The people who resettled in Hidalgo were the migrant workers. It was not a desirable place to live because of the flooding. That's why they kept it here. In modern times it's become very valuable to Gazni to have its

> own marina. That's why they settled here and they stayed here, and now they're fighting for their lives.
>
> Many of the Mexican members of the community oppose it because of that; they want to control their own destinies; they don't want to be controlled. They don't want the things that have happened to other Mexican communities, just became a rehab area with their homes destroyed. That's all they had. Many of the people here own their own homes, many of them rent them, but many of them own them. Sixty percent of them are buying or owning their homes, and they're very defensive about Gazni coming in and condemning their homes. Some are substandard and some are not. They're also very fearful of other special interests in Gazni that control the other part of the land. They fear they would make a marina and do the same thing that happened in Gazni. You see, the Mexican community knows they've been pushed around. This valley, at one time, had Mexicans all over the place--all over the area. Being the original settlers in this area, next to the California Indians, our people have been here for hundreds of years. And we gradually have been pushed all over the place, pushed eventually to the east side. And the people in Hidalgo know this.

Such factionalism, insecurity, suspicion, and conflicts are very pervasive, and they permeate all interaction and interpersonal relations among the people in Hidalgo. Factionalism has particular bearing on the school and the upbringing of the children. Children from various interest groups and families call each other names, fight with each other, tell tales on each other, or steal from each other. Parents refrain from attending school-related functions and programs because, as one parent put it, "You don't like to see the people you don't like." And when asked why the people dislike each other, she answered:

> Well, because of the clinic, and because of the people over there who think they have big positions, and they're going to be owners: big shots. They would be fighting for a position over there because they know that's the only place they can go. And there would be another person coming in and fighting for the same position. They think they're getting a big benefit out of it, but they aren't. It's not hate, but they're

> hostile. You know, something that doesn't have importance, they will make it big. When they go to the meetings, there's this issue, and it's not very concerned with the whole town. But the other group comes in and they start shouting and saying things that they shouldn't. The school and the clinic are very important here. At the clinic I don't attend meetings because I'm afraid I'll listen to another argument. And you know, we're full of fights and arguments.

Conflict seems to have led to duplication, waste, and lack of cooperation among the various institutions in the community. For example, when the investigator asked a respondent from one social service agency (the CSO) why there was no cooperation between the various agencies, the response was:

> I don't know. I have no idea if they [the Clinic] would or would not [cooperate]. All I know is that the Board does not want us to [cooperate]. So there is nothing I can do.

And when asked why some people did not take advantage of the services available in the town, the respondent said:

> Sometimes people are afraid to come into these buildings. . . . The division in the community could be one thing. They don't want to be identified, or say they are supporting one group or the other. There's also a fear; they don't know what it's all about. They don't know who's sitting in here and what we're doing.

A school employee said that

> I have a few parents who have requested that their children not participate in any association whatsoever with the Clinic, even to having a dental hygienist come over and teach a class. . . . I am really straight middle of the road and I must stay that way. I think the school has to do this, it can't take sides.

The preceding exposition should help make it clear that we are dealing with a somewhat unique school and community. In other words, these children come from what is variously labeled as "the culture of poverty," (Lewis, p. 68); "the culture of silence" and "the oppressed," (Freire, 1970); "the powerless" (Charnofsky, 1971); "different," "disadvantaged," "minority," "urban villagers" (Gans, 1962); "culturally deprived," and so forth. And educators should be cognizant of their social, economic, racial and political background when they attempt to study and improve the schooling of this group, i.e., the low-income Chicano children. For, as a Chicano respondent articulated the problem, "Just the fact of his depressed environment is enough to turn any kid off. It's [Hidalgo's] really a barrio. That's exactly what it is." And this investigator believes that the controversial Coleman Report (1966) does pertain here. One has to give a great deal of weight to the pupil's sociocultural background in his educational attainment. It is for this reason that the preceding three chapters were written to project the light in which the rest of this dissertation which focuses on the school should be read.

Summary

Chapter IV presented a brief description of some of the major social, religious, health, educational, and service organizations in Hidalgo. It was pointed out that on the one hand, each of these organizations performs vital services for the community, or certain segments of it, as the case may be. Yet, on the other hand, these very organizations and institutions have factionalized the community very deeply. Rivalries for control over the organizations have generated latent and manifest animosity in Hidalgo. This factionalism in turn seems to have led to duplication, waste, and underutilization of services.

Factionalism and competition between the organizations is likely to carry over to the Coyote School. Children fight with others whose parents are from opposing factions. And the school feels constrained in dealing with the children, the community, and/or extending its services beyond the school boundaries, because the school is subject to being accused of taking sides. And, in fact, the various factions actually intervene in the operation of the school itself. For example, certain parents have barred the school from allowing it to utilize the services of the Clinic for their children at the school. They do not even want their children to hear a lecture by a Clinic person. And Anglos, who attempt to help in the community, whatever their motives, are deemed suspect of serving external interests.

Chapter V provides an overview of Coyote School that must educate in such a divided and highly politicized community.

CHAPTER V

COYOTE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL: AN OVERVIEW

Plant and Facilities

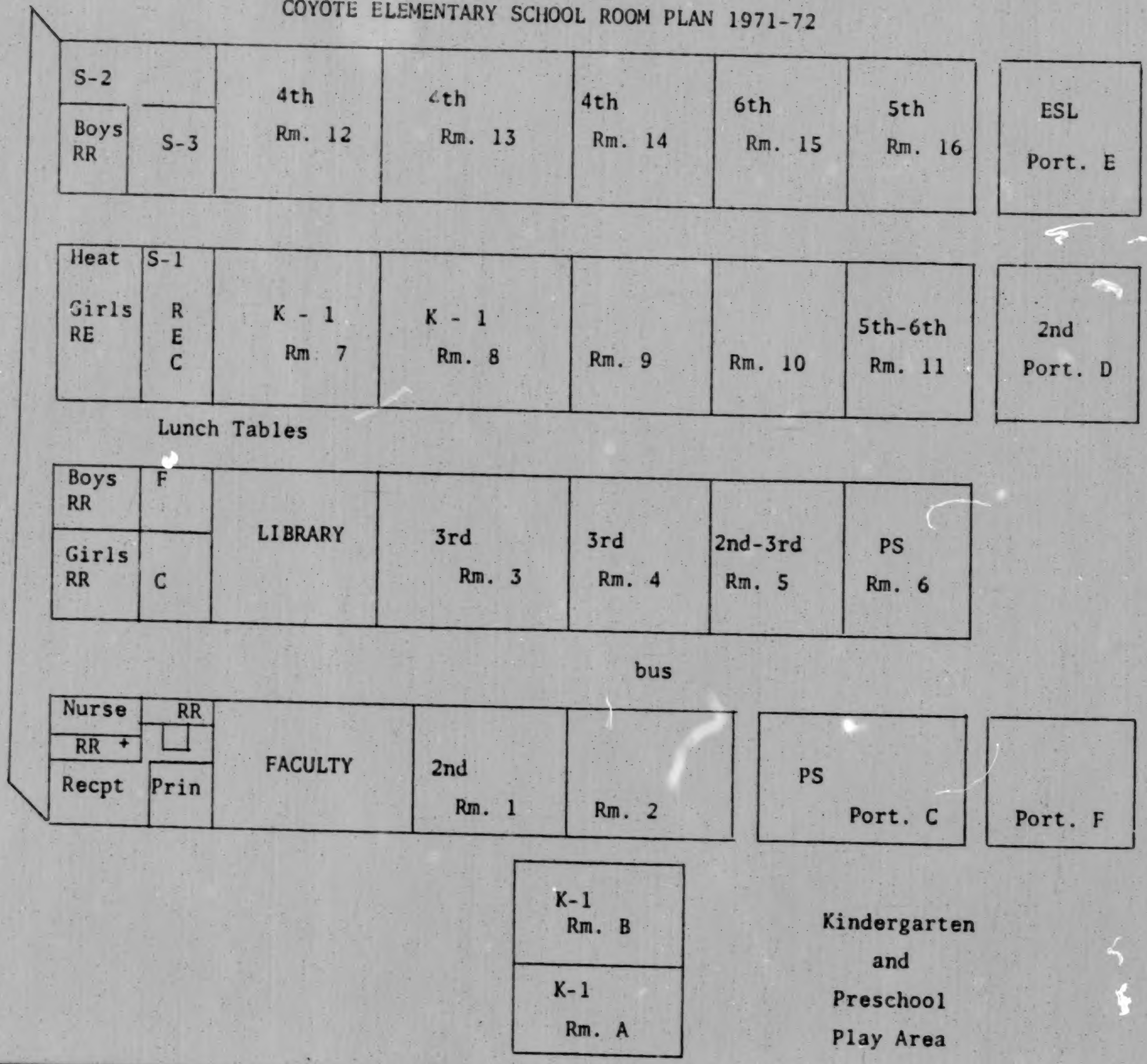
Coyote Elementary School is located on the periphery of Hidalgo township, adjacent to the city park. The present modern one story buildings were constructed in 1956 to replace a building of five rooms that had been in use since 1900. The modern buildings were constructed in four parallel rows, with two classrooms situated perpendicular to the other four rows (see Chart V-1). Four portables and an old bus have been added and are used as classrooms, offices, and/or for storage purposes. There are no hallways. The only thing that connects the four rows of structures is a roof sheltered arcade traversing one end of the complex.

Bathrooms are in short supply. Only two of the kindergarten-first grade rooms and one of the preschool portables have their own bathrooms. Other students from preschoolers through the sixth graders use the four bathrooms located at the end of the three wings. There are also two restrooms for the adult men and one for adult women located adjacent to the principal's office.

The principal's office, the nurse's office, and the teacher's room are located at one end of one of the rows. The main four structures are heated by a central heating system. And the main classrooms have sinks and drinking fountains. The portables are trailer-like

CHART V-1

COYOTE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ROOM PLAN 1971-72


S-2
Boys RR
S-3
4th Rm. 12
4th Rm. 13
4th Rm. 14
6th Rm. 15
5th Rm. 16
ESL Port. E
Heat
Girls RE
S-1
R E C
K - 1 Rm 7
K - 1 Rm. 8
Rm. 9
Rm. 10
5th-6th Rm. 11
2nd Port. D
Lunch Tables
Boys RR
F
Girls RR
C
LIBRARY
3rd Rm. 3
3rd Rm. 4
2nd-3rd Rm. 5
PS Rm. 6
bus
Nurse
RR +
Recpt
RR
Prin
FACULTY
2nd Rm. 1
Rm. 2
PS Port. C
Port. F
K-1 Rm. B
K-1 Rm. A
Kindergarten and Preschool Play Area

structures with tin roofs and windows that cannot be opened. Other than the door, there is no ventilation. Each has its own heaters which contribute an ever present humming sound. They do not have either running water, basins, or drinking fountains.

Exposure to the weather and various hazards of school life is a by-product of this physical plant. If and when children should want to go to the bathroom, the water fountain, the nurse's office, the counselor, the principal's office, the library, or, in fact, any other place, they must walk from one end of the school to the other. And in doing so they are exposed to wind, rain, cold, or heat, and the occasional bullying, pushing, and shoving of older children from the upper grades. It also means that when children come early to school, they must spend their time virtually without protection, for the classrooms are locked. And many children do come to school early. Their parents drop them off as early as one hour before school starts (9 a.m.), so they can get to work. Children must also stand in the open when they await their teachers' arrival to open the classrooms, as teachers can be late from home, the office, and/or the teachers' room. Children must also spend their lunch hour, recess, or physical education time outdoors because there are no indoor facilities for these activities, and frequently the teacher locks the classroom to go to the office, get a cup of coffee, smoke a cigarette, go to the bathroom, or attend to some chore. There are mitigating circumstances. Some teachers let the pupils stay in the classroom even when the teacher himself or herself cannot be there. Also, when it is raining too heavily, lunch is served in one of the rooms.

Coyote School does not have a cafeteria, gymnasium, auditorium, a large multipurpose room, small offices, meeting rooms, or elaborate outdoor athletic facilities. The small teachers' room is cluttered with duplicating equipment, stacked storage boxes, projectors, storage closets, the necessary coffee utensils, and a huge refrigerator. There are two tables and hard chairs for eating. There are two small couches. The walls and bulletin boards are crowded with notices, posters, and other memorabilia which rarely get updated. This is the room that is used by some fifty school personnel, teachers, consultants, aides, and visitors.

The physical education facilities are scattered around the school area. There is a small paved area in the back of the school which contains two small jungle gyms, two small rocking horses, and two diminuitive slides, all built for the preschool/K-1 children. In front of the school, bordering on the covered arcade, is the major physical education facility which consists of a paved area of about 100 x 150 yards. In this there are six tether-ball areas, four basketball frames, two volleyball court areas, one large slide, three medium-large jungle gyms, and four exercise bars. Behind the left side of the school is an area useable for baseball, soccer, or whatever, with a moveable wire guard which one could place behind the catcher in baseball.

Adjacent to the school there are other facilities it can use. There is the small park provided by Gazni, which is the closest to the school--within a two minute walk from the classrooms. This has nine small children's swings, a small slide, five rocking horses, and two small jungle gyms. Then, further away from the school--about a four minute walk--is an area which has five more swings, another slide, a jungle gym, and a rotating turnstile ride. And finally, about a five minute walk from the school is a baseball diamond with bleachers. All these facilities can be used by the school under supervised conditions.

Educational Hardware

Title I, Migrant, and the Hawaii English Program funds have enabled Coyote School to accumulate a supply of educational hardware. The school maintains a well-equipped learning center. It contains such instructional materials as the Hoffman Reading Machine, Educational Development Laboratories which are reading-listening machines, Singer Audio Study Mates which show filmstrips while built-in cassettes narrate a story, a Language Master which flashes printed cards while the student hears them read, a Dukans filmstrip and cassette machine, overhead projectors, tape recorders, maps, microscopes, film projectors, a few entemological specimens, and other materials related to art work and the biological sciences. Kindergarten-first grades, who are participating in the Hawaii English Program, have many of the minor audio-visual instructional equipment themselves. Several classrooms have their own television sets, record players, and other equipment.

By and large, then, the school is fairly well-equipped. The learning center equipment, however, cannot be taken out. Students must be sent in to use it, and thus it is not available either at the teacher's discretion or at a particular, but unscheduled time, when it is needed.

And the machinery in high demand, such as sixteen millimeter projectors, slide projectors, tape recorders, and record players, are in short supply, which causes some problems and some bickering among the teachers.

The learning center is staffed by an aide. On the average, about 35-40 students from various grade levels spend about an hour in it every day, each with his or her own "prescription." Students are sent to the learning center, which is open throughout the school day, to work on a special problem in a certain subject. They may be the "fast," "medium," or "slow" learners. And there can be anywhere from two to thirty students in the center at a time, each of whom requires specialized assistance. It is more true, though, that the majority of the attending students are "slow learners." As the person in charge said, "The learning center was designed for everyone, but I would say that most of them have been the 'slow.' But I don't think that a learning center should be just for the 'slow'; it should be for all." The aide helped set up and now runs the learning center without any professional training, but competently, by report.

Food Service

Coyote School does not have its own food facilities such as kitchen, cafeteria, or storage space. Its food is prepared at the district office and carried to the school every day, prepacked in paper and tin foil plates, and stored in synthetic, thermal containers. It arrives at school about half an hour before serving, and sits out in the yard. The lunch tables too are out in the yard, in a space between two of the parallel building structures. They are of the wooden, picnic type, with benches on either side to sit on. At other than lunch period, the tables provide a play area for children and stray dogs, and are not washed or covered in preparation for lunch. Generally the students eat outside in all weather, but if it is raining heavily, the students will eat in one of the classrooms.

Teachers walk their classes single file to the lunch area and leave them there. From then on several Mexican American ladies and a gentleman, all supervised by an Anglo lady, take over. None of the regular instructional staff eat with the children; in fact, very few of them ever eat the school food. Occasionally the principal or one of the teachers may spend a few minutes in the lunch area.

Some students bring their own lunch, others pay for the school lunch, and about 150 are on free lunch. There are also always a handful of free-loaders who stay around friends and classmates and finish up their leftovers. They are not certified for free lunch, but either they do not give the lunch money to the teacher, or they do not get it from home.

Screams from the supervisors of "pick that up," "don't throw food at each other," "no seconds today," "eat your lunch," "let him (or her) eat" punctuate the meal time. The Mexican American man who volunteers, collects the leftovers to take home. A school employee expressed her opinions and feelings about the food situation:

> I feel for many reasons that we have to do something about our lunch program in respect to the fact that we are a high Mexican American population at this school, and there are certain ethnic foods that those children

> are accustomed to eating. We can set down all the guidelines we want in the world, and if they end up in the garbage can, they're not doing anyone a bit of good. Now, we have met several times with our nutritionist--our food supervisor at least--from the district, and we seem to be getting nowhere fast. We were able to start a breakfast program this year, after about a two year delay. The children should have more hot type food in the morning. We were trying to move a stove into the room where we have breakfast, to be able to make hot cheese sandwhiches . . . although it's better than nothing. I was having a lot of children coming in last year with stomach aches about 10 in the morning. At least we have 150 children out of 400 who was participating in the breakfast program, which I think is a real good start. Well, we're being bogged down with financial costs. We really don't know if we'll be able to continue, because the government has cut down on its subsidizing of the breakfast program. We have many, many children on the free lunch program; and those that are on the free lunch program have a free breakfast. Those that are on a reduced cost lunch, we're asking for 10¢; and those that are on a full cost lunch, we're asking for 15¢. We're wondering if we can keep up with even this. We're thinking now that we're going to have to have some sort of support from all the families. I don't know if they'll be able to pay something for the food too. I really don't feel it is adequate. I don't feel the menu is adequate because of our high Mexican American cultural likes and dislikes; and the breakfast program I don't think is adequate either. -But it's better than nothing, which is what a lot of children were getting--eating candy bars or a package of potato chips on the way to school. I saw a lot of this last year which disturbed me. We have a very high rate of dental cavities in the Mexican American child, which of course is strictly due to diet and toothbrushing. Many of our children never even had a toothbrush.

Indicative of the respondent's comments on the low number of meals reflecting the Mexican American population of the school is the fact that out of a menu covering 91 meals in the first four months of the school year, only 16 were traditionally Mexican food. This is especially significant in light of the fiestas celebrated in these months.

Educational Objectives

The instructional and administrative staff at Coyote School purport to be committed to the achievement of the following overall objectives in their pedagogical endeavors. To:

"1. Insure quality education by management and accountability.
2. Develop programs to meet individual differences.
3. Assist each student to realize and develop his potential.
4. Discover and develop values to gain sensitivity in human relations.
5. Achieve economic independence.
6. Develop responsibility in civic decision-making.
7. Develop communication and other basic skills.
8. Assume responsible citizenship in a democracy.
9. Develop acceptable moral and ethical character.
10. Develop an awareness and adaptation to change.
11. Develop self-image and rational powers." (Sonora County Unified School District, Policy 6000 Paraphrase.)

A framed copy of these goals appears on the wall of the principal's office. When asked to elaborate on the major educational goals for the Hidalgo children at Coyote, the principal responded by pointing to the framed copy. "I think we could go to what the district has suggested as 11 goals," he said. More specifically to Coyote, he added:

> The child should be able to communicate in written English; the child should be able to spell, to communicate orally; in a bilingual program this could be in English or Spanish, but the intent is English.

When the investigator asked if the underlying goal was to prepare Mexican American children to function "successfully" in the public schools and in the American society at large, the principal expressed agreement. He said:

> In other words, in our district each school is somewhat autonomous now in developing their own programs as long as there is some sort of tie-in with the overall district policy. . . . The Board of Education approved them [the 11 goals]. I don't know the actual origin of them. No doubt the top administrative staff and the teachers' organization wrote down some suggested goals. It's quite possible some Board members had goals in mind.

It seems clear that educational-accultural goals, policies, and strategies are determined by the higher echelons in the educational system and in almost total isolation from the local-subcultural realities and considerations. It is also apparent that the school staff and faculty perceive their roles largely as technicians and functionaries in the assimilation of ethnic-racial minorities (i.e. Mexican Americans) into the public school system and the mainstream culture. Although the particular school community has little or no control over the educative process, it sincerely believes in the credibility of the public school and the mainstream sociocultural system and appears committed to transmitting the attitudes, skills, knowledge, values, and ideology thereof to their Mexican American pupils. It seems, then, that the school considers its major goal and function to be that of acculturating Mexican American children into the mainstream culture; this will be discussed further later in this dissertation. It will also become clearer that the school's success in obtaining this objective is somewhat doubtful.

Personnel

All in all, there were 55 adults working full or part time at Coyote School at the time data were collected for this study. This constitutes one adult for every four pupils. Of this total, seventeen were teachers, nineteen were part-time aides, and eighteen were members of the auxiliary staff. There were 28 Anglos, 18 Mexican Americans, one Black, one Chinese, one East Indian, one Filipino, one Japanese, One Latin, and two Spanish staff members. Categorized by sex, there were eight men and 47 women. Of all the personnel, only the secretary, the two custodians, the bus driver, six of the teaching aides, and five of the auxiliary staff members who worked with the breakfast and lunch programs, lived in Hidalgo itself. The remainder commuted from the nearby white middle class neighborhoods.

Since the professional preparation of the faculty and staff plays an important role in the lives of the children, and since the general status of the Mexican Americans at the school is one aspect of this study, it is believed that a chart of the entire staff may prove useful in illuminating some of these issues. The reader is therefore asked to refer to Chart V-2 for an outline of the demographic information on the school personnel.

Four hundred nineteen students attended Coyote School at the time this study was being written (May, 1972). Of this total, 182 were Mexican American girls, 172 Mexican American boys, 32 Anglo girls, and 33 Anglo boys. At Coyote School the status of the Mexican American as a minority is reversed. In terms of numbers, it is a majority.

CHART V-2

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION ON COYOTE SCHOOL PERSONNEL

Title	Ethnicity	Part-Time Hours	Grade/Class	Sex	Residence
Teacher	Mexican American		preschool	F	non-Hidalgo
	Mexican American		preschool	F	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo		K-1	F	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo		K-1	F	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo		K-1	F	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo		K-1	F	non-Hidalgo
	East Indian		2	F	non-Hidalgo
	Mexican American		2	F	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo		2-3	F	non-Hidalgo
	Black		3	F	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo		3	F	non-Hidalgo
	Filipino		4	M	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo		4	F	non-Hidalgo
	Chinese		4	F	non-Hidalgo
	Mexican American		5	M	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo		5-6	M	non-Hidalgo
	Mexican American		6	M	non-Hidalgo
Aide	Mexican American	6	preschool	F	Hidalgo
	Mexican American	5	preschool	F	Hidalgo
	Anglo	6	K-1	F	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo	6	K-1	F	non-Hidalgo
	Japanese	7	K-1	F	non-Hidalgo
	Latin	6	K-1	F	non-Hidalgo
	Mexican American	3	2	F	Hidalgo
	Spanish	6	2	F	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo	3	2	F	non-Hidalgo
	Mexican American	3	2-3	F	Hidalgo
	Spanish	6	3	F	non-Hidalgo
	Mexican American	3	3	F	Hidalgo
	Mexican American	3		F	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo	6	5-6	F	non-Hidalgo
	Mexican American	6	ESL (2-6)	F	Hidalgo
	Anglo	6	Lrng Ctr.	F	non-Hidalgo
	Anglo	6	Librarian	F	non-Hidalgo
	Mexican American	4	School-community Liaison	F	non-Hidalgo
	Mexican American	6	ESL (2-6)	F	non-Hidalgo

CHART V-2 (Continued)

Title	Ethnicity	Part-Time Hours	Grade/Class	Sex	Residence
Auxiliary Staff					
Principal	Anglo			M	non-Hidalgo
Secretary	Anglo			F	Hidalgo
Nurse	Anglo	4 da/wk		F	non-Hidalgo
Custodian	Anglo			M	Hidalgo
Custodian	Anglo			M	Hidalgo
Bus Driver	Anglo			M	Hidalgo
EH Specialist	Anglo			F	non-Hidalgo
Speech Therapist	Anglo	2 da/wk	all	M	non-Hidalgo
Psychologist	Anglo	2-1/2 da/wk	all	F	non-Hidalgo
Counselor	Anglo	3 da/wk	all	F	non-Hidalgo
Music Teacher	Black	1 hr/wk	4-6	M	non-Hidalgo
Music Teacher	Anglo	2 hr/wk	4-6	M	non-Hidalgo
Resource & Inservice Coor.	Anglo	2-1/2 da/wk	all	F	non-Hidalgo
Title I Coor.	Anglo	irreg.	all	F	non-Hidalgo
Math Consultant	Anglo		all	F	non-Hidalgo
Sci. Consultant	Anglo		4-6	F	non-Hidalgo
Preschool Consultant	Anglo	1 da/wk	preschool	F	non-Hidalgo
Bilingual Consultant	Chinese	1 da/wk	K-1	F	non-Hidalgo
Food Serv.	Anglo	2 hr/da	K-6	F	Hidalgo
Food Serv.	Mexican American	2 hr/da	K-6	M	Hidalgo
Food Serv.	Mexican American	2 hr/da	K-6	F	Hidalgo
Food Serv.	Mexican American	2 hr/da	K-6	F	Hidalgo
Food Serv.	Mexican American	2 hr/da	K-6	F	Hidalgo

Auxiliary Services

Government and school authorities have designated Coyote School what they call a "saturated Title I target school." This is so because more than 50 percent of the parents are on welfare and many families receive the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC); and also many of the children are on free breakfast and lunch programs. In short, about 77 percent of the children in the school come from families certified as poor, that is, families who receive some kind of aid. In 1965 the Congress of the United States passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA, Public Law 89-10), which provided funds for five different areas of educational endeavor. The largest amount of money available is for compensatory education, under Title I. Title I funds provide special programs and assistance for economically disadvantaged children who have educational problems. The basic goal of Title I is to provide disadvantaged children with the opportunity to succeed in school to their maximum potential (Keyes, 1971). To this effort, Title I contributes $95,000 to Coyote School annually.

Each child in the district incurs the regular per pupil expenditure of $500; Title I funds provide an additional $300 per child; Migrant funds provide another $40 per child; and in Kindergarten through second grade classes, the school receives another $100 per pupil for participation in the Hawaii English Program. This adds up to $840 per child, or $940 per child in Kindergarten through second grade. For comparison, the national average of per pupil expenditures is $858. The highest per pupil expenditure, as of 1971, was $1,429, in Alaska.

The lowest amount for the same year was $435, in Alabama. (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1972.)

Title I funds have enabled Coyote School to hire nineteen instructional aides as well as to secure the professional services of a counselor, a nurse, a psychologist, and several temporary and permanent consultants. As to how much of this compensatory expenditure reaches the children for whom it was intended, that is how effective it is in reaching its stated goal of helping each child succeed in school to his or her maximum potential, is left to the reader's judgment. In order to obtain its goals, Title I guidelines specify that funds must be spent on the following areas:

1. Communication skills--language development
2. Math-science
3. Staff development, including aides
4. Parent involvement in school
5. Ethnic studies and materials
6. Auxiliary help--the nurse, psychologist, etc.

Health and Nursing. A registered nurse spends four days per week in the school. She gives first aid treatment and can apply band-aids in her office. She takes students' temperatures. She keeps information cards containing the parents' home and work telephone numbers and those of their neighbors and friends in case of emergency. In such an emergency she contacts the parents, relatives, or friends, anyone who can come to take the child to the local clinic or the nearby hospitals. The nurse also arranges for the district health officials to examine the children's teeth and have them brushed with fluoride and administer ear and eye examinations. She arranges for an occasional presentation about drugs, dental care, family planning, and water fluoridation. She also prepares medical reports and helps consult with a child's doctor in the identification of the educationally handicapped.

As it is, Coyote School seems to need more than one full time nurse. The socioeconomic status of the Hidalgo community, the substandard houses, poor medical care, and the poor diet lead to a variety of illnesses among the school children. Concurring, the school nurse described some of the most prevalent health problems:

> The most prominent medical problems that we see are the upper respiratory infection, usually treated at the Clinic. They have a lot of problems with strep throat, head lice, all very communicable conditions and they spread like wild fire. I find that the head lice problem is chronic in certain areas. It's the same thing over and over again; and I've worked with the public health nurse on this; I've talked to the parents and talked to the children. We provide shampoo free. We've tried to educate the parents on how to stop this chain. But I think that the houses are very old, and the bedding and these things have become infiltrated with the lice eggs, and this is quite a problem, you see. I think the greatest percentage of the problems that we see are in the families in the worst economic condition in the area. I think it's the poverty; it's the homes that are very poorly kept, poor personal hygiene, poor housekeeping, etc. I think that in some of these situations the parents really try to take care of their children, but their houses are cold, the windows are broken, it's drafty, there's not enough hot water; this kind of thing. And it's just the chronic illness type of thing. The children that have the better homes in the area receive better attention and receive better medical care, I have no problem at all with it. The condition is immediately taken care of, and there's no repeat. Nutrition is another serious problem.

There is great need for health education in the school as well as in the community, but as yet no serious provision is made in the school curricula for it. The nurse expressed the following views on this issue.

> Health has always been a secondary subject being taught--this is true of all schools; it's taught when there's nothing else to teach. I really shouldn't say it that way, but it's taught after everything else is done; that's what I mean. I'm trying to get away from this because I think that health education is an absolute must, and particularly where we have a lot of health problems. I think it's as important as reading, writing, and arithmetic, because if you don't have a child who's feeling well, who's had a good lunch, who's had a good breakfast, then he really can't function very well in the classroom. So, we're trying to make a lot of inroads with our teachers, and I think they're doing a very good job. They're responsive to all the programs I'm trying to deal with.

The Counselor. The school has an Anglo counselor who can speak Spanish, and who is at the school three days a week. She works mostly with the children, but to some extent with the teachers and parents as well. As she defines her job,

> The biggest part of my life has been people. I think I can give a lot to people. I'd like to think of it as 80 percent with children, 10 percent with teachers, and 10 percent with staff and others. I like to think the prime contribution and the most important thing I do is to get with the kids. Not just to talk about doing it, but to be with them. I felt that one way was to hit all sorts of areas, and an effective way of counselling was to work with groups. I do a lot of it, but quite a bit of working with individuals too. . . . I have a sports group of 18 people which I see every day.

She described the scope of her work as follows:

> I work with them in another area. If it's a nice day we do sports outside. If it's not nice, we can sit down and have a meeting; we can play records; we can

> feel it out and do different activities. As far as children who come into the office, right now there are about five groups, which is about 25. Probably on a normal day, individuals I would talk to would be six a day, or another 18. On another day it might be 10 or 15; on the other hand, I might go into classes and speak to large numbers. Normally a child does not see it as being sent by a teacher. Many come to me and others a teacher might say to me, "I'm concerned about so and so." So I usually go into the classroom and I talk to so and so, and I ask so and so if he'd like to come in. On a few occasions I might say "your teacher has asked me to talk about this." Sometimes it's apparent that they've asked me to talk to their child; but a child sees it from what I see, as a very good thing, and they want to come.

She then spoke about some of the most common problems.

> It's hard to say a common problem. They're really a lot of both academic and behavioral. At certain times it's academic areas; certain times it's maybe a lot of reality therapy: Who am I and where am I going, and what am I doing and do I feel good about myself and what things do I like to do and what things does the teacher do that make me feel good; and it might be relating with peers; it might be academic; it might be shyness and coming out of themselves; certain times it might be a certain area of school work; the child probably isn't always sure what I'm trying to get at, because I have objectives for them at the back of my mind.

The counselor was asked about helping the children who might have problems with the teachers. She answered:

> . . . one thing they really appreciate, when we talk I tell them they can say whatever they want and they can trust me, and I tell them I will not mention what they talk about unless they give me permission. And very often they're willing to let me talk to the teacher. And I find out what things the teacher does that they really like; what things they don't like. I ask them if the teacher ever makes them feel good, ever compliments them; and very often a teacher might say he does terrible in school work. So I might take one small area and ask the child what he would like to work in, and then I might talk with the teacher. It's usual to start with a little point and to build from there. Teachers are really receptive; they really ask you--sometimes

> you wish you had more answers, or solutions. But I find that most of them just appreciate first of all that someone understands their problems, so to an extent they want the counseling.

Learning Disabilities Specialist. For the current school year, Coyote has a full time learning disabilities specialist for eight of its educationally handicapped (EH) children. These are children who have emotional, neurological, or physical problems which interfere with their school work. Such a child is not mentally retarded. Rather, an EH child must have an I.Q. of 90 or above (i.e. average or above) and potential so he or she can succeed in this specialized program. If the child cannot for emotional, perceptual, or neurological reasons achieve academic success in the regular classroom and is about two years below grade level, he or she is identified and labeled as an EH student. Those with I.Q. between 70 and 90 are identified as educable mentally retarded (EMR). But there is no specialized program at the school for these children. If they are admitted to an EMR program, they have to be bussed to another school.

Coyote School has for the first time, this year, a female, Anglo teacher who works with eight EH children in a special room assigned to her. She is paid by the State to deal with not more than eight EH children at a time, even though there may be (and are) many more needing help. The program can function in two ways. One form is a self-contained class where the EH children spend the entire day with the learning disability teacher. The second type of program is where EH children spend one to three periods with the learning disability teacher, but spend the rest of the day in their regular classrooms. Coyote has adopted this second approach, because, in the words of the principal, "We want to integrate the children where they can function well in the class."

In the EH class the teacher has a variety of instructional material, games, audiovisual aids, equipment for play and rest. It is structured, equipped, and managed differently from the regular classroom. Instruction is individualized and learning is participatory and experiential. One of the eight children, a fourth grade Anglo girl, expressed the following judgment about the EH class compared to her regular one.

> Mrs. ____ is nice and kind. I like to spend time in her class (the EH class). She has all those games and things, and she listens. You can get help every time you need it. But I hate Mrs. ____'s class. It's so big. You have to wait for everything. And she is mean too.

Another EH child, however, a fifth grade Mexican American boy, felt somewhat differently. On one occasion the EH teacher was trying to induce the child to do some math and she was telling him that he was capable and intelligent. He disagreed: "You say that to everyone. If I am really intelligent, why do they send me here? It's because they think I am stupid, that's why." Perhaps this child was making an important point. And that has to do with the wisdom of labeling children and, maybe, stigmatizing them for the rest of their lives. Some teachers and aides felt that the present classroom situation with its overcrowded conditions, irrelevant and difficult curriculum, traditional teaching methods, and the cultural and language problems of the Chicano pupils in fact bred "problem children." They argued that if every classroom were organized and run like the EH room, there would be no EH, EMR, or "problem children." The principal, himself, seemed to feel likewise:

> Five years ago they had the educable mentally retarded programs which frankly were a sham by and large. The children were placed in these programs based on test results. . . . We're not meeting the needs of all. We have to, again. In the school now there are possibly 20 children needing EH instruction. A point of philosophy is very interesting: in our Aloha English Program, our philosophy is such that EH children will succeed in that program; and they do indeed. They have two EH-type children, and these children are functioning quite well; they are decision makers, if they get tired or irritable they go and lie down in a corner; so it's a pattern of the program in school. So, if a program like this continues on, four to five years later there'll be no need for this other type of program.

Indeed, why not pattern every classroom, and all teaching, after the EH room model? The school itself cannot do this, of course, because of the specialized teacher training, extra funding, and decision-making required for it to work from is beyond the school's jurisdiction and resources. But it is a point to consider.

The Psychologist. The school has access to the services of a psychologist who spends two and one-half days per week in the school. According to the principal, her function is to test the children, work and consult with the teachers and children regarding reality therapy and classroom observation of children, and to collaborate with the teachers on working with "problem" children. In addition to that, she is the evaluator for the entire Title I program at the school; and she is also responsible for identifying, evaluating and certifying children who qualify for special education programs.

Qualification for the special education programs is done on the basis of tests, observation of the child in the regular classroom setting, and consultation with the classroom teacher, the school nurse, the principal, a district medical doctor, and the child's parents. Theoretically, this should be an ongoing process; the children in question should be assessed at least once a year to be admitted to the special education program or discharged from it. The psychologist administers psychological, achievement, and individual academic tests, and conducts structured interviews with the children in question. As she pointed out in describing this aspect of her work:

> The tests we use are almost all oral, an oral exchange, more like a structured interview. So you can have other ways of getting at a reasoning process. Is the child able to reason out solutions to problems without being dependent on reading skills?

In addition to these tests, the school nurse prepares a health and developmental history on these children. The psychologist collects the reports on a particular child from the nurse, teacher, doctor, and his or her parents. The completed file is given to a screening committee. The committee then considers the case and forwards the file to a district admission/discharge committee. And this committee assesses the case and makes recommendations for placing or not placing the child in a special education program, one such as the educationally handicapped (EH). The EH teacher, who has specialized training, may consult with the school psychologist at any time during the process concerning the child.

The tests have been developed and standardized with white middle class EH children in mind, and are in English. Although the psychologist pointed out that "If language is a problem in taking the test, then we would call in an interpreter to explain the instructions," the possible distortions and misunderstandings that can occur in this process need no explanation (cf. Labov, 1972). Furthermore, there is not a single informed Mexican American involved in this screening, except the child's parents, who are likely not to comprehend what the whole thing is about.

Granting that the screening process is accepted as valid and reliable, not all potential handicapped children are screened and allowed to benefit from the special education program. According to estimates by the seventeen classroom teachers, corroborated by the investigator's observation, there are at least twenty children in the school who seem to need special help and should be assessed immediately. In fact, the psychologist feels that "about ten percent of the school population could possibly qualify." And yet, as she also pointed out, "This year (1971-1972) we haven't really started on our screening campaign yet," (as of January, 1972). When asked if there might be children in the school who need urgent, special care, the psychologist answered:

> Yes, and we will be doing this; as I said, Mrs. ____ is starting the initial phase of it right after the holiday, then she will have some idea of which, say eight or nine, children seem to be most likely to qualify; and then I will start the psychometric with them; the nurse will have to start her part; and we will kind of go full steam on screening them into the Spring.

The eight children who are currently enrolled in the EH class were screened during the 1970-71 school year. Presumably children for the

1972-1973 school year will be screened this year (1971-72). But nothing is being done about the twenty or so children who need help this year.

In diagnosing and selecting the EH children, the school must follow a quota system established by the State of California which funds the EH program. The State does not allow more than eight EH children per teacher per year, and Coyote School has only one EH teacher. So only eight children in the school can go to her at a time. Others who might also need such help must wait for next year or later.

Speech Therapist. A male, Anglo speech therapist visits the school twice a week to work with those children who have "pathological speech patterns." The class is mostly Mexican American, although the absolute number varies. The principal said that these Mexican American children speak "pidgin English," and that the goal is to help them speak "standard English."

Speech therapy, English as a Second Language, bilingualism, and the whole language arts area assumes great importance at Coyote School. Hidalgo has already been described as a barrio, where Spanish predominates in almost all kinds of communication both in and outside of the homes. Many parents and older adults do not even know English. It is here that the Mexican American children of Coyote are born and raised. To them, English is a second language which they learn from other Chicano youngsters, the few Anglos, and the school. This acquisition of English begins mostly when children enter school. Nowadays, a few of the children begin learning English at the day care center and in the preschool. The school is attempting to facilitate this process at the K-1 level with its bilingual instruction, and at other levels with its ESL classes and speech therapy.

But two problems continue to persist despite the school's efforts. First, when children leave school they hear and use mostly Spanish. Second, there is a constant flow of immigrant children from Mexico and the South who know little or no English and who rely on Spanish exclusively.

The children, their parents, and the school agree on and are aware of the importance of learning standard English. Nevertheless, the way this goal is achieved by the school raises some questions. For one thing, Chicano children are products of a unique ethnic-racial-cultural background which may have a marked influence on their language, conceptualization, learning, and even their cognitive skills. The school would seem to need extra care and great expertise in order to enable the children to make a smooth transition from Spanish to English. The school has taken steps to make it smooth, but much more needs to be done.

The second point which needs to be made is this: As the school attempts to achieve the goal of teaching standard English to Chicano children, it may generate or strengthen feelings of inadequacy, feelings of inability to learn, doubts about the worth of Spanish and the Mexican culture, confusion, withdrawal, and other negative attitudes toward the school and themselves in these children. Teachers need to be sensitive to this. And ways in which to handle the possible resultant feelings need to be investigated further. Ways need to be found which would not label these students as linguistically deficient. In the teaching of standard English, a balance needs to be found between the pressure to have them use "standard English" (for their own future good in light of societal realities) and stressing communication in whatever form or language they know best. The idea would be to capitalize on their native linguistic talents, such as story-telling (see Flood, 1972), while teaching them "standard" English.

English as a Second Language. The teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL) assumes great importance in both Coyote and Hidalgo at large for the following reasons. The community is basically Spanish speaking, thus for the majority of the children, their predominant language is Spanish. Furthermore, new immigrants from Mexico who speak little or no English, flow constantly to the community and the school. Also, the school itself stresses heavily, at least in theory, improving English language skills among Mexican American children. And finally, there are at least sixty students in the school who do not only need instruction in ESL, but also the teaching of other subjects either in Spanish or bilingually. One would expect, then, that ESL would occupy an important position at the school.

The principal pointed out the importance of ESL at school by stating:

> I would say that it's very important for these migrant children coming from Mexico or Texas. They speak essentially no English. There's no model in the home. So before the way they learned was by hearing other children and teachers. Our great concern is that the child understands that there is a difference. To let the child read and speak standard English by the tape

> recorder and then slip into the dialect . . . maybe he's not hearing that there is a difference. The ESL program ties in with the stress we place on communication skills. . . . We started it three years ago, and each year we expanded that program, and we tried to coordinate it so that the classroom teachers and the ESL teachers were in close harmony regarding the child's progress. I think we're talking here about the pidgin English that some of the children speak. This of course is a complex problem because the English that is spoken in the home--this is the only English that they speak, the "Mexican American dialect," for want of a better term right now. This is the language the older brothers and sisters speak. If the parents do speak English, in fact, this is the language they speak. What we try to encourage here is that the model of the teacher and the aide is what we call "standard" English, whatever that is, because each person has his own idiolect, but the children are encouraged to learn this and then on the playground the children are not reprimanded for speaking the local dialect of English.

Coyote School has assigned one of the Mexican American instructional aides to the teaching of ESL during the first semester. And since the start of the second semester, she has been joined by a second Mexican American aide. One of the aides has finished junior college and has an aide's certificate for nursery school. When asked about the specialized and professional training she had received for her ESL job, she answered:

> None at all, just the classes that I'm taking with ____, because I'm using her materials. During the two week summer training, I didn't know that I would be teaching ESL. I was hired for an ESL aide, but I haven't received no help from anybody. Training now, nothing, just her class.

The second aide, also a Mexican American lady, has had eleven years of school, and has had some short term training in early childhood education. She had been a preschool aide for five years at the school, but because of what she ascribes to interpersonal friction among preschool teachers and aides, she was assigned to teach ESL.

The two aides have their own classroom with some equipment. There may be anywhere from eight to twelve students from the second through the sixth grades in the room at a time. All in all, the aides work with about twenty children who spend two to three hours studying ESL per day. The children spend the rest of the day in their regular classrooms studying other subjects. One of the aides said this about her work:

> The idea when I first got here was that I should teach them in both Spanish and English and Math. But I'm not getting paid for all that, plus I'm not a specialist in all that. I'd hate to teach the children something and then find out that it was all wrong; I mean I'd hate to mess up their lives. The children are chosen for this class because they can't speak any English; the teachers send them; they make the decisions. There is no dialogue between me and the teachers; they never come in and ask me how their students are doing. I just got one report request from one teacher, but I never filled it out. I got very upset because I need to talk to them about it, not fill out reports.

It must be pointed out that however hard the two ladies work, and notwithstanding dedication and being well liked by the students, they lack the specialized training and qualifications necessary for teaching ESL--especially when you consider that being certified to teach ESL by California State requires the equivalent of a Master's Degree in this subject. When the principal was asked whether the two aides provide adequate models for the ESL children, his answer was:

> Yes and no. Ideally, if we had the money, there would be a credentialed teacher. One funding source comes from Title I. A teacher would cost us $1,300. We get an aide for $500. So for the cost of a teacher I get two aides. . . . It's a matter of economy.

There are about thirty more students reported by various teachers who need instruction in ESL, but who do not receive any.

Music Instructors. Coyote School shares two music instructors with the other schools in the school district. The instructors, one Anglo and one Black, visit the school twice and once a week, respectively, to teach music to a handful of students. They teach standard American music and instruments, and do not teach much Latin music or dances. One problem is that very few students can afford to purchase musical instruments, even though they may be interested in it.

Consultants. Coyote has six permanent part-time consultants. There is an Anglo lady who works one day a week with the two preschool teachers and their thirty children.

The resource person, who is also an Anglo lady, spends two and one-half days per week at the school. She coordinates the in-service programs for teachers and the teacher aides. She arranges for guest and paid speakers to come and conduct in-service sessions at the school. And she also meets with the school's aides one hour per week in what they term in-service meetings.

Then there is the district coordinator for compensatory education who visits the school once a week, supervises Title I programs and expenditures, and offers help and suggestions as needed. She intimated that "a lot of my time is spent, quite frankly, in the district office doing paper work for these programs." She, too, is an Anglo.

The fourth consultant, a Chinese American lady, is a linguist who works with the kindergarten/first grade bilingual program. Fifth, another Anglo lady, is consulting with the newly introduced individualized Fergeson Math Program in the school. And a sixth Anglo lady consults with the upper grades' science program.

The working relationship between the consultants and the teachers and aides, as well as the contributions these consultants make to the children's development, will be discussed in Chapter IX.

Status of Mexican American Culture

Throughout the field work an attempt was made to assess the status of the Mexican (American) cultural heritage at the school. Attention was focused on such cultural elements as Mexican food, the Spanish language, printed material, costume, pictures, posters, artifacts, and Latin music.

Unlike many other schools, Coyote was by and large a bilingual school. Eighteen of the 55 staff members were Mexican Americans, and most of the remaining members knew Spanish. Three hundred and fifty-four of the 419 students were Mexican American. Consequently, one heard a great deal of Spanish spoken in the teachers' room, in the lunch area, and on the playgrounds. The use of Spanish was not only not discouraged, but actually encouraged and promoted. Communication between the school and community was entirely bilingual and any time the school dealt with the parents at the school it was in both Spanish and English. Not only that, but the preschool and the kindergarten-first grade classes were conducted bilingually. And so, at Coyote, Spanish enjoyed almost equal status with English. It must be pointed out, however, that the staff, the parents and the children did express the need and desire for the children to perfect their mastery of English. That seemed to be the ultimate goal, Spanish and/or bilingualism appeared to serve as interim steps. Most parents talked to said they wanted the school to teach "good English" to their children and that they did not want their children to become like themselves. One parent stated her opinion by saying that "English is more important, because you can get along better. If you want to work, then you have to know English. If you don't know English, you don't get no work." Another parent said that "the school should teach English; Spanish we can teach over here." The school is trying to meet this challenge.

A sample of upper grade students were asked about their opinions on the status of Mexican culture at the school. To the question whether "school should be completely in Spanish," 29.4 percent said yes, 52.3 percent said no, and the rest did not answer. To a second question about whether "school should be completely in English," 47.7 percent answered yes, and 28.4 percent answered no. To the question whether "school should be both in Spanish and English," 56.9 percent said yes, 22.0 percent said no, and 21 percent had no opinion. And to the statement that "school must teach about Mexico and Mexican Americans," 78.0 percent said yes and 11.0 percent no; 11.0 percent had no opinion. From this it is clear that an overwhelming majority of the respondents (78 percent) were in favor of the school teaching about Mexican (American) cultural heritage, and more than half (56.9 percent) indicated that both Spanish and English should be used in the school.

The majority of the students would like the school to be conducted bilingually. But, when it comes to the school being either in English or in Spanish, a small majority rejects the notion of the school being in Spanish; more students were in favor of it being in English, although it was not a clear-cut majority.

Although the students and to some extent the school, too, wanted pluralism, the textbooks and other objects used and seen by the students and staff did not seem to make serious provisions for this. The investigator made a survey of seventy-four textbooks and supplementary reading material used by K-6 graders to find out how many references were made to Mexican Americans and Mexico. A survey of Tables of Contents and subject indices as well as content analyses of photographs revealed 102 entries for content and 88 photographs depicting Mexicans, Mexican Americans or scenes which appeared to be even remotely related to them. Plentiful reference was made to such places and people as the Vikings, Marco Polo, and Greece, but few to the Mexican Americans in the 1970's. The majority of any references that were made to Mexican Americans were to those during the time of the ranchos, when California was first settled.

The school library contained about 2,000 books, booklets, magazines, and reference materials. A cursory survey of these materials was made through the use of the card catalog. It showed that there were only 28 items dealing with Mexico, Mexicans and/or Mexican Americans.

The lunch menus for the first four months of the academic year were also studied. This revealed that out of 91 luncheon meals, sixteen could be described as containing "Mexican" food. None of the breakfasts were typically Mexican, and these were not included in the count.

Most classrooms contained some signs written in Spanish--one of them had the pledge of allegiance translated--one or two pictures or posters related to Mexican Americans, and possibly some cultural artifacts, such as a sombrero, a map, or something else. Teachers did show films or filmstrips in Spanish or about Mexicans, when they were available, and played Latin music once in a while.

Summary

Chapter V presented an overview of Coyote School. Considering the fact that the school serves a low-income community, Coyote is fairly well-equipped in terms of staff, physical plant, and educational technology. The school is participating in and experimenting with Title I compensatory educational programs, migrant education, and the Hawaii English Program. Such innovations and experimentations have brought help and additional funds to the school. Some of the funds are spent on hiring the many aides, consultants, and auxiliary service people; others are spent on equipment; and still others on improving the curriculum and on inservice education. It is assumed by the school that all this should contribute to the children's education.

Another part of Chapter V was the status of the Mexican American culture and language in the school. Inasmuch as it can within its own jurisdiction, the school appears to be dedicated to making itself a bicultural and bilingual institution, thus preserving the Mexican American heritage. At the same time, the school also seems to be aware of the fact that Chicano pupils must master the English language and the academic content of the public schools, if they are to achieve success and acculturation within the mainstream culture and society.

However, the chapter also revealed the following crucial points. First, the school and the local community have minimal or no voice in determining educational goals for Coyote's pupils. Instead, educational goals are decided upon by the higher echelons in education. Furthermore, the stated goals appear to reflect national goals with no provision for the particularities of local realities.

Second, it is one thing to have elaborate and modern school facilities, equipment, personnel, textbooks, and so on, but it is another thing to have their benefits actually reach the children. The school leadership is making every effort to get the services to the children, the intended clients. But it is doubtful whether, at this stage, the efforts are very successful. A temptation is to stress the mere existence of such services, without sufficient care for ensuring their maximum utilization in helping the children. The school has to be very careful that this is not happening.

Third, the Mexican American employees from Hidalgo fall at the bottom of the school's status hierarchy (see Chart V-2). About half of them have the lowest status jobs. They work for the shortest time, and, since payments are based on education, experience, and hours, they make the least amount of money. This may have significant bearing on Chicano children's attitudes. The children's attitudes are culled from the status of their role models, which here seem to be primarily second class. Concerning the status of Mexican Americans, the school appears to reflect the situation in the American society, while at the same time trying to alleviate some of the inequities. It appears that not all of the services in their most beneficent form reach the children who must bear the consequences.

Chapter VI will focus on one aspect of the school, namely professional and human relations among the school personnel. The relationships between the staff, as representative of the social atmosphere in the school, representing societal harmony or conflict at the school level, is something the student does learn from school, and is something which may influence the student's views toward life. As such, we look at it in Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI

PROFESSIONAL AND HUMAN RELATIONS AT COYOTE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The study of professional and human relationships at Coyote School constituted one aspect of this study. The investigator was interested in the following issues: cooperation, or lack of it, among staff members; conflict and conflict resolution; the role differentiated staffing played in facilitating or hindering communication; the degree to which people associated with each other in and outside of the school setting; the relationship between teachers and aides; attitudes toward the role of the consultants; relationships between Anglo and Mexican American staff members; the way visitors and substitute teachers were treated; and decision-making in the school. The decision-making process in the school is particularly important, for it can fuel problems existing in areas of interpersonal-intergroup relations, legitimating nobody and making people feel impotent, legitimating some in preference to others and causing conflict, or legitimating everybody and every group to work cooperatively and to come out with programs that will be implemented by all.

On the surface, professional and human relations among adults at Coyote appeared to be cordial, based on cooperation and mutual respect, and, as the principal described it, based on "coworking and peer" types of interaction. However, when studied more deeply, the situation generally proved to be somewhat tense, uncooperative, hostile, low in morale, and at times explosive. And it seemed that among the major causes for this friction, coldness, and lack of cooperation were the hierarchical structure of the school, as established by differentiated staffing, lack of adequate communication between people within and between levels in the hierarchy, the unfairness--as perceived by certain elements--of the work and reward distribution, intense competition, ethnic cleavages, and anxiety about the work situation.

Instructional Staff Attitudes Toward Consultants

Most of the teachers and aides interviewed felt they had not received any reports of student progress from the consultants, and believed the consultants were doing very little, paid a lot of money, and had more access to the principal. This applied to some more than others. Mainly, the complaint was that too few children were being handled by the specialists for too short a period of time. And this complaint touched most generally the EH (Educationally Handicapped) teacher and the learning disabilities specialist. In the case of the resource teacher, who didn't deal with children directly, the complaint was more in respect to a feeling that the time structured for the aides to be in meeting with this consultant should be granted to direct teacher-aide conferences and lesson planning. The general complaints touched all consultants and the auxiliary service people. The following excerpts from interviews with the instructional staff should help illustrate the point. These were typical of the views expressed to the question, "How do you feel about the role of the consultants at the school: their usefulness to the teachers and the students?"

An aide had this to say about the role and contribution of the consultants:

> I'm not excited about them. They can all go. I don't think you need consultants here, all you need is to teach the kids. I think the kids are learning what I'm teaching them. Although the consultants are supposed to try to teach the aides and bring new ideas, I haven't heard anything. There's been some complaint about the school that there's too many consultants and they are getting paid too much money. If they do bring ideas, etc., they don't show it.

A teacher expressed her feelings in the same vein:

> I think we should get rid of them. . . . Nobody knows what they are doing. . . . Everybody is upset. I have never seen any consultants come in and help me. I mean, if you have one teacher for four kids all during the day, we don't need that kind of person. We'd rather have an assistant who's loose and giving the teachers a hand. All the teachers are very upset over it, very upset. She sits with four kids all day, and we're struggling with the rest. She takes them in the morning when they're settled. And in the afternoon, when he's hyperactive, we're stuck with him.

Another feeling expressed was that taking children out of class was detrimental in and of itself. A teacher stated that:

> They're confounding the work with my kids in some ways. The take-out method. I feel like student body meetings and all that should be held after school. The kids are getting rewarded for it, but if you make getting out of class a reward, somebody's program is going to get the shaft, and it's mine. And I know from talking to the other [people] that it's not only me. Other people feel this way. . . .

The teacher went on to say:

> What I don't like is all these disruptions. [The counselor] just walks in and takes these kids out. Or she sends me a little note saying 'I would like to see so and so, is such and such a good time?' I say ya, what can I say? She is in with the principal. . . . And I am not going to make any waves.

About one student a counselor was helping, one teacher said:

> Since September I have not seen any change in this student's conduct or performance. She takes these kids, gives them candies or tea and takes them here and there. The kids ask me, 'When do I see Miss ____?' And I tell them, 'don't ask me, baby, ask her.'
>
> I would like to help these kids learn something, so they can stay in school and become something. But there are all these interruptions and there isn't enough time. Also, when people give candies to the children, it jeopardizes my relations and effectiveness with my students. They won't accept any challenge in my class. They won't see her during The Electric Company or P.E., but in the morning when it's time to teach them something.

Another teacher also felt consultants jeopardized teacher-pupil relations.

> They have not helped me or my class. I could only speak for my class, and I'd have to say no. I mean the kids that I had problems with at the beginning that were just slight problems, and I sent them there, it seemed like they really got out of hand. Now that they don't go there any more, we're communicating between each other. . . . In fact, I don't know what they are doing. The psychologist last year, I tried to have test three people in my room, and she never got around to it all year, and I had submitted the forms.

At best there was expressed a feeling of suspended disbelief on behalf of the consultants. This view was expressed by another teacher who said:

> They have not been of very much help to me so far. I don't ever see them. Nobody ever comes in to observe me and provide constructive criticism to tell me if I'm doing anything wrong, if I'm doing a fine job. Even when the principal comes in he can stay only for a short time;

> I don't see how he can ever say anything. I think they're contributing to the development of the children, but I can't see how they're doing anything to ease the job of the teacher. The speech teacher who works with the children, that does carry over into the classroom. The counselors are working with a group of my boys to try to get them to understand how better to get along with other people; I haven't seen any results from this yet, but maybe later on.

Asked about the contribution of all the consultants, an aide answered, "Not much at all except for some. A lot of times they're sort of a waste of time. . . . I don't know too much about what they're doing. . . . Well, it's always looked to me as if they don't do much except sit around in the teachers' room and look important."

The consultants and the administration at the school have sensed resentment on the part of the teachers and aides. The instructional staff point out that before the consultants came to Coyote there had been procedures for handling by other means what the consultants do now. The resistance is laid at the door of teachers who resent their program being set aside or disrupted because of a new consultant. There has been no attempt to counter this resistance and resentment directly, however, and it is built on by bickering and rumor.

Teacher-Aide Relations

The second major area of consideration was the relationship between teachers and aides, a direct link to the differentiated staffing program. There is no question that all of the aides made much contribution to the teachers' work as well as to the students. Even when the aides did not teach, they graded papers or did other chores which relieved the teacher's load. Some of the aides were, in fact, certified teachers; others, as already mentioned, ran classes like the ESL class and the Learning Center. The aides' contribution was acknowledged by almost everyone at the school. One teacher summarized it, saying:

> My own situation has been very helpful. She takes children out of my class to work with them, leaving me with a much smaller class in which I can work with them on a one-to-one basis. This has been one of the nicer things.

Another teacher stated her feelings about aides as follows:

> I think it's a good relationship. The aides are very receptive to suggestions that the teachers make. They do whatever they're asked to do. They don't grumble about any of the work. There are some aides who stay extra and do extra work.

However, it was also evident that the aides, in general, had a much lower status in the school. They were paid much less; often they were assigned menial tasks by the teachers; they were not involved in major decisions concerning school and schooling; some of them were not even given keys to their rooms or the teachers' room; and they were not socialized with, according to the investigator's observation and interviews with the aides. The fact was acknowledged by many teachers and some staff members at feedback meetings held by the investigator.

Originally, it was intended (by the principal) that theoretically, at least, the aides would and should be treated as equals, at least in non-monetary matters. But some teachers wanted the aides to do mostly the routine and menial chores. This position is expressed in the following statement made by one of the teachers:

> The only aide I've got is kind of weird. I shouldn't bitch. If she was doing stuff that was

> really detrimental-- She's really well-meaning. There's just some things: she hasn't come through when we've asked her to do things. The ideal situation with an aide is, that's the one who does the goddamn lunch money and all this horse manure, leaving me the time to get with my kids. I'd rather it was that way than taking my kids out of the room and over to the bus. Now, this morning she said she'd be a little late because she had yard duty. Well, I wouldn't tell somebody else, especially if I was an aide or a student teacher, and that's what she's doing. It struck me as a wrong, wrong attitude, not because she was putting me down, but because she wasn't thinking of herself. It's not something where I'll hold a grudge against her for the rest of her life, but it just doesn't seem like a responsible attitude. If you're on a job and you're on a trial basis, and you sluff off, then if they hire you they're really taking a risk.

The aides, on their part, felt their low status. It is exemplified in the following statement:

> I think they don't know how to utilize aides here. Some of the teachers use them for their dirty work. . . . I have done somethings I was hostile about doing at the time. . . . [The aides] pretty much stick together because they feel there is more comfort in that group, because they are more of an equal . . . a shelter in your own little group. Well, we are really inferior in pay, to a point where it's ridiculous.

The following teacher-aide relationship, an extreme case, is typical of one end of the continuum--the clerical use of aides. Here the aides brought the snack and lunch to the rooms, served it, and cleaned up the place. They were given very little responsibility in the class; they were not involved with the children, other than taking them home or performing custodial functions for them. In this case, it should be noted that the two teachers and the two aides were all Mexican American, and the aides had very little formal education. One of the two aides expressed her feelings about this situation.

> I feel like I am in prison, in jail. I don't feel like I am working with that person. I feel like I am tied because I can hardly talk or handle the kids because I am very afraid.

She went on to hypothesize about the problem.

> Maybe because she [her teacher] feels that to be a teacher she is too high. That's the way I feel from the way she was treating me like I was down here. . . . I love the kids, and I don't want anybody to treat them bad . . . sometimes she's too strong with the kids. . . . I feel like she was doing it to me. Young kids, they don't know what they are doing; they're little. You have to have a way to handle kids. But she never gives me a chance to talk to her. Even if I asked her a problem, she never answered me back. Later on after five or ten minutes, I'd have to be after her about what I was going to do. . . . She lets me work with the children only when there are some people there.

Many teachers appeared either to have established superiority over the aides or seemed to be trying to do so. The fear element kept coming up in interviews with aides. A Mexican American aide stated her case: "I had a problem and I was afraid to ask her [the teacher]. I was afraid she would say something bad. I went and told [a consultant], and the problem was solved. But I couldn't tell [the coworker teacher] directly. . . ." Some of the aides accepted a subordinate and marginal status.

> I myself know that the teachers are a lot more educated than I am. I know that when I walk into the room, it's her classroom. And I know that I am supposed to follow certain rules. And I respect her because she is an educated person. And at the same time, there's nothing wrong with my correcting her in case she's wrong or for her to tell me in case I'm wrong. I'm a human being. If I think I'm right, I don't care if it's the principal.

This kind of teacher-aide relationship did seem to have its undesirable effects for some aides, though. One aide described her feeling about the situation:

> Well, in general, they [the teachers] don't speak [to us]. And sometimes they don't say good morning. I don't know why this happens, maybe they get out of the wrong side of the bed or something. I don't know if this happens with the others. I can say this about the principal, he's always the same; very polite and very nice to me. But the other teachers, sometimes I don't go to the teachers' room, I don't feel comfortable.

The degree of aide satisfaction with the job seemed to be dependent on the amount of responsibility, authority, and involvement she was given in the class, and also upon the nature of the interpersonal relations between the aide and the coworker teacher. Four aides, experienced and well qualified, and four teachers worked together and found a good relationship. This group was at the other end of the continuum, the instructional use of the aides. Describing this situation, an aide said:

> In my situation, I think our relationship is quite good. I think we work very well as a team. When we're having dissatisfactions with things, people have mentioned them; we've worked them out. There isn't any of this fear, underlying tension, that drags something down. I feel good about the way I relate and am related to in this situation. It would be nice to get more pay for what I do, but as long as I go on enjoying what I'm doing, I don't care what I get paid. . . .
>
> I've heard that there have been some people upset about their particular positions--some aides. Not that they haven't been given authority, but what little things they do get undermined, and things like that. In the rest of the school it's slightly different. You see I have a teaching credential, so that puts me in a little different position as an aide. Because the rest of the people I'm working with know that, and in terms of the way they treat me, it's more as a colleague, another teacher, than as an aide. It probably isn't true in most of the other aide positions, because many of them have, or maybe even haven't, finished high school, or are in college still. So many of them probably are in more

> of a subordinate position where the teacher would ask them to do things.

One all Mexican American teacher and aide unit described earlier, deteriorated to the point where a major restaffing became necessary. In another case, an Anglo aide, nearly certified as a teacher, left the school. In parting, she said:

> I'm leaving this place because I am fed up with it. You won't believe the crap I've had to put up with. The teachers don't even want me in there sometimes. Also, I don't care for the stuff they were making me do. Sometimes I don't do anything in there. Like yesterday, I saw one film in ____'s class, and when I went to ____'s class, I saw another. I have better things to do with my time. There's no future for me here, either. They won't hire me [as a teacher, later].

Another Anglo aide, who had been running the learning center, left the school too, because she was not happy with the pay and working conditions. On one occasion she complained to the investigator and said that there were "too many snobs and put-ons in the school."

In general, the aides did not associate much with the teachers and the other staff members, and when they did it did not appear to be on an equal basis. Although no hard data were collected to establish these statements, it is hoped that the following descriptions and anecdotes will illustrate the point. The way people seated themselves in the teachers' room and at other general gatherings became an almost predictable pattern and epitomized the socializing at the larger school level. The Anglo and other senior teachers usually sat at the table near the sink and coffee utensils in the teachers' room, in one corner. Occasionally the group would be joined by some Anglo aides. The Anglo aides, the auxiliary service people, the Indian teacher, the Black teacher, any visitors, and substitute teachers sat at the table in the middle of the room. This group would be joined sometimes by some Mexican American aides. But most of the Mexican American aides sat, most of the time, on the two small couches in one of the corners, and spoke in Spanish to each other. With few exceptions, this seating-grouping was maintained throughout the school year.

It is not certain if this cliquishness was deliberate or conscious; it seemed to evolve in a natural way and remain that way. An example is a Christmas party the school had for its staff, their spouses, and friends. This was not given at the school itself, but at a club. Even there, in the midst of all the drinking, dancing, and eating, people were seated and associated with their usual groups. The consultants and the auxiliary service people were sitting at one table. The kindergarten-first grade teachers plus one or two others were at another table. Those few Mexican American aides who were there sat at a third table. And a group of miscellaneous people clustered at another table. Few Mexican American aides attended any extra-school function.

Scheduling realities and the physical structure of the teachers' room may have been part of the problem. The room was conducive to clustering. Large spaces were broken down with duplicating machines, storage boxes, and cabinets, thereby creating a nook and cranny environment. Lunch and recess too were never at the same time. The preschool teachers and students ate lunch in their classrooms, and so there was no reason for those teachers and aides to be in the teachers' room. And the fact is that they were rarely seen there at any time, even when there might have been reason to. They were separate and seemed to avoid the teachers' room most times.

The kindergarten-first grade teachers ate lunch at 11 a.m. Some of these teachers are very close personal friends. The group is pioneering the Hawaii English Program and the bilingual experiments, and perceived itself to be somewhat special. The group stayed together and somewhat aloof from others. When this group concluded its lunch, the second and third grade teachers arrived. And when these people finished, the upper grade teachers came for their lunch. Different grades had recess at different times, too. This situation did contribute to isolation and cliquishness.

Whatever the reasons, people complained about the lack of communication, understanding, warmth or cooperation. Interpersonal conflicts, jealousies, arguments over equipment, yard duty, and children, personal styles, and so on kept the fire going. A teacher summarized the problems of interpersonal conflicts between teachers and problems in the school at large:

> In the complex I'm in we work beautifully together. Nobody can get over it. We never argue; we just settle things; we talk and discuss things. But I'm sure you're very much aware of the dissension that is happening between some upper grade teachers and other upper grade teachers, and some upper grade teachers and some lower grade teachers. There are three issues. There is one issue that supposedly these people are against us because we are Anglos, first of all, which I really can't help. I know that the whole problems of the world were caused by the white men, but I didn't ask to be born white, either. But the other one is that these people feel that the teachers do not spend enough extra time in the community. Well, not only myself, the majority of teachers. And the third issue is that they feel isolated; they feel that the lower grade teachers are too

> chummy with each other, which is forced upon us because we work together, and lunch together, and recess together, and various other things.
>
> The dissension between the upper grade teachers is, I think, that one wants to be top chief--power. One feels that I've been here the longest and should have all the privileges. And another feels that he's always had all the privileges, therefore should continue having them. And one feels it's not fair that that one doesn't get any. I think it's childish. I think it could very easily be settled if people would sit down and talk to each other, but there are so many tempers involved in this thing and deep-seated feelings. Now I'm talking about the whole of Coyote, the instructional staff.
>
> I think this year we are so large there is not sufficient communication. Everybody's broken down into their little clusters--preschool, k-1, 2-3, 4-5-6. And we never meet together any more; we meet in our clusters. We do everything in our clusters; we plan in our clusters. The other night was the first time we'd all been together. (The last faculty meeting we had was a long time ago.) You know the last faculty meeting we had; and we used to have one a week at least. [There are] very few true snobs [here]; I think there are other reasons people act that way: shyness, insecurity, just the mood at the time. I really don't feel that there are any true snobs here, as far as I know, and I know everybody pretty well. As far as cliques, yes they formed. But as I said before, it's the clusters that we've been driven into.

Others felt that a great deal of this was deliberate. An Anglo aide expressed her views on relationships between staff.

> Well, I think they could be better. The staff at this school seem to be working independent of one another, and really a little bit out for themselves instead of the children; I don't mean financially or anything like that. But I think they could work together much better if they wouldn't nit pick. . . . Well, not so much cliques, but ____ has this and won't let me use it, and what do we do? I don't think they're always looking out for the best interest of the children--unconscious selfishness. For example, a teacher has a record player, and another teacher has a record: instead of bringing all the children together and letting them all hear the record on the record player, one teacher says you can't borrow my record player, the other says you can't borrow my record. So who loses? The child--it's the child; and this actually happened.

> But you get all sorts of clues and messages like I don't really care for you very much or like other messages you don't really want. There are a lot of people, well not a lot, but there are a couple of teachers in this school that do feel superior to the other teachers, superior to the children; superior to the aides, to everything. They probably had a bad childhood, I don't know. I think they're insecure in themselves, to tell you the truth, although they profess not to be.

Still there were those who disliked others for their teaching methods and for their attitudes toward children. An Anglo aide described her feelings about this as follows:

> I know I do feel some frictions, just in how I feel about some of the people. Some teachers annoy me very much because I wonder why they're teachers. I mean I wonder if they really care about kids, and in particular if they really care about these kids. Because I hear some teachers come into the teachers' room saying 'Boy, I sure gave it to ____ today, he was asking for it,' and you know this kind of stuff. A teacher has no right to talk about another human being that way. I think this is what some of these teachers are able to forget, that these kids are human beings, they are people. They aren't like subordinate little animals to push around. And I really feel that there are some teachers here who have that attitude. I look on them as a human being and I'm not going to be nasty to them and put them down. I can't really feel close to them; and I quite often feel friction and discomfort around them [teachers].

Gossip, rumors, and tale-telling contributed to friction in some other cases. There were complaints that people told the principal tales or feelings they could not face the problem teacher with, the object of the tales. Informing on others was part of this. It was claimed, for instance, that one teacher did not use the flannel board, another was harsh on the children, and so on.

One teacher examined the relationships throughout the school and made the following comments.

> In my situation, fantastic, no problem between the members in our component. But in other grades I think there's a lot. I'd say in the primary grades it's pretty smooth, k-1-3; I'd say things were pretty smooth between teachers and aides in that area. Pre-school is another story; there was a little problem there. In the upper grades I can think of many little factions and groups that are pitted against each other; and I think friction on the 4th grade level; friction on the 5th/6th level against the 4th grade and vice versa, and also 5/6 versus everyone else. I really don't know how to explain [what the problems are]; I really don't understand it. I can say for myself there's a few people on the faculty who rub me the wrong way; when you've got 50 people on the faculty, somebody's bound to rub somebody the wrong way; you can't have 50 people who love each other. There's not very much cooperation in a lot of instances.

Another teacher looked at the relationships throughout the school and also found a chasm between the primaries and the upper grades, the men and the women, those who were involved in teaching as a profession and those who were marking time. Some teachers complained about the lack of cooperation and people being secretive about their ideas and classrooms. One teacher said this about cooperation:

> I think that there could be a lot more cooperation between the teachers in this school. And I think there could be a lot more feedback. I think that our feelings should be more open and honest with one another, instead of getting all these feeling second hand. I think that a few teachers on our faculty waste a lot of other people's time, especially in meetings, and some try to be funny and very witty; and we'll have a planning meeting and we don't get anything accomplished. And I really feel that these people need to sit down and come together as a team--because we aren't. I just feel like there are some I can work with and plan with, and really get something done and share a 50-50 thing. And there are others, it's very secret and they don't want to tell you what they're doing in their classroom, or how come or what. They just can't share anything. And I think it's a shame because we are so individualized now, that we could be so much more helpful to the students, not only to ourselves.

Another added: "It doesn't seem that they help each other out around here, just the people who like each other. . . ."

One complaint heard frequently by the investigator was that the aides did not know enough to share in the task of teaching. They were not given enough training, just two weeks in the summer.

One teacher attempted to explore the causes for the lack of communication.

> I think on the whole it's quite good. But one of the main problems always is teachers finding out that certain things are going on, and the aides not receiving the information. . . . Sometimes not reading the information that's in the same thing the teacher received, but it's partly because our school is very hectic around here; it's very rushed; we don't have time to sit down with each other and really plan out what we're doing. There's no set time for anyone to sit down and talk about what's going on; and only having an aide part of the time. So, because of that there's some kind of lack of communication which leads to confusion which leads to feelings like they don't know what's going on.

Finally, one teacher said, "Well, I like the way it's worked because there is no relationship. [The principal] is fine, he stays away from me, which is just the way I like it."

In essence, these respondents were talking and complaining about professional isolation and lack of evaluation and feedback in the teaching profession. Meyer, Cohen, et al. (1971) point out that once teachers are on the job, they do not discuss their profession much, and they almost never observe each other teach. As one informant put it to the investigator, they never go into other classrooms because they have children at the same time and they just would not feel comfortable doing it. There was an infrequency of both teachers' evaluations of other teachers, regarding teaching, and the principal's evaluation of teachers. This is also supported by the Meyer, Cohen findings.

Decision-Making

Faculty and staff organization at Coyote can be described as a mini-bureaucracy. This bureaucratic structure is characterized by stratification, with linear relationships between the various elements, specialization, rigidity, formality, memoranda and paper work, a system of reward and punishment based on seniority and achievement as defined by the structure, norms and regulations, meetings, concepts of proper channels, isolation of one segment of the structure from another, authoritarianism, inefficiency, and some insensitivity (see Meyers, 1972; Gerhardt and Misekel, 1972). It must be recognized that the school, like any other social institution, requires some degree of formal organization if it is to accomplish its goals. The questions raised here are: How much bureaucratization is necessary to run the school? Must the school be run along a factory model, as the principal indicated, "running the school like a business enterprise?" What does bureaucratization do to the teachers' sense of power, autonomy, morale, performance, etc?

The formal organization and power structure at Coyote consisted of the principal, followed by the "Title I Task Force Committee," which is made up of the principal, the counselor, the nurse, the inservice coordinator, the district coordinator for compensatory education programs, and the math consultant. It is noteworthy that in the school which receives about $95,000 in Title I funds per year, there is not a single teacher, Anglo or Mexican American, or a single Mexican American at any level on the Title I Task Force. And yet it is there that, presumably, all important decisions for planning, programming, and spending the money are made. The school principal, albeit seemingly very democratic and receptive to suggestions, ran the school pretty much the way he wanted to, without much input from others. When he had to, he consulted mostly with the aforementioned committee or its individual members. The committee members seemed to have the greatest access to the principal. An aide made the following observations about the way in which the principal arrived at decisions:

> Quite often he does things very impulsively; and he does things without telling people about them; and he does this thing with volunteering people to do things that they didn't exactly want to do; and I know that gets people annoyed with him. I don't know [why they don't bring this up to him]. In the meetings he seems to be sort of a demagogue pushing things through, and I think people sort of resent that. Why people don't, I don't know. Even though he does that, I have the feeling that he's open enough that if you go to him, he'll listen to you. Whether he would act on it, I don't know. It's probably that they're convinced that nothing will happen. I know of some situations where things have been brought up, he said, "Yeah, we'll do something about it, don't worry about it, it will be taken care of," but nothing happened. I know that there's resentment. I personally don't feel resentment . . . because I think there is a sort of price being paid because he is the kind of man who will try out new things and get things done. Nothing goes smoothly.

The third element after the principal and the Title I Task Force, in descending through the order of authority, was the four team leaders who held weekly meetings with their teams, and who took their concerns to the Title I Task Force and/or the principal. These team leaders, together with the school's representative to the California Teachers

Association and the principal, formed a second committee called the School Improvement Committee (SIC). The principal described the Committee's role.

> This is a school improvement committee and we meet once a month, when we discuss matters common to the whole school. So it will be heavily weighted to the teachers, and I will bring in people if they are on the agenda. I work closely with these unit leaders. Then, I make my pledge to the committee that I will get to be with them in their planning sessions. If I can't make it, I will ask ____ to come as my designee. Definitely, we want members of the administration there with them.

Fourth in this hierarchy were individual teachers who were followed by instructional aides. Most of the aides did not have keys to the classrooms and were invited to school-related matters only on a selective basis. The instructional aides were followed by the ladies who helped with the lunch and breakfast. These ladies went straight to their working area, did not socialize with anyone, and were not spoken to very much. They hardly ever visited or sat in the teachers' room. These people were followed by the male, Anglo bus driver-handyman who did drink coffee in the teachers' room and sometimes socialized with the teachers. And finally, there were the two male Anglo custodians who also spoke with the teachers sometimes, but who did not spend much time in the teachers' room.

When the principal was not around the school, the secretary took care of most of the unspecialized problems. Everyone realized this. Most felt it was an unnecessary burden on her. The principal was asked, "Who looks after the school in your absence?" He said:

> Mrs. ____ [the secretary]; she's my official vice

> principal. Now, here's the beauty of the team arrangement. You have the unit leader. I do have a person if I were, say, ill for several days, then ____ would come in. She's #1 and #2. Frankly, I'm not gone that much. When I took this job, I accepted the idea that I want to be here and not drinking coffee at the district office. So, it's ____ and then the unit leaders. Plus ____ is the most amazing when she's around. ____ when she is, and ____. This is what we call participative management in the sense that a lot of the problems they could have, they can handle.

It should be noted in the above statement that all the people on whom the principal relied to run the school in his absence were members of the auxiliary staff, and not of the instructional staff or the aides.

Race Relations

Vicious name-calling or serious gang fights were of rare occurrence among these school children at Coyote. There was none of the severe ethnic cleavages that exist among Anglo and Chicano brothers and sisters of some of these students at the junior or senior high school level in other areas. Mexican Americans are clearly in the majority at this school. This protected them, and perhaps gave them a psychological sense of identity, security, and dominance. The Anglos from Hidalgo were also lower class, and actually appeared to have more in common with the Mexican Americans of Hidalgo than with the white middle class, skin color notwithstanding. In fact, the Anglos in Hidalgo were called "White Mexicans" by some. As far as socioeconomic status went, the community of Coyote School was by and large homogeneous. The racial interrelations within and outside of the school among the children could best be described as mutual tolerance with neither warm congeniality, nor open hostility.

Mexican American children from Hidalgo sometimes called the new immigrants from Mexico "Mexican." Children talked to by the investigator indicated some knowledge of status hierarchies. Those children and families who had been in the United States longest had a higher status than those more recently arrived. They seemed already inculcated with the awareness that in this society one of the worst things you can be is perhaps to be Mexican. If they had not picked it up from the problems their brothers and sisters had had at the junior and senior high schools in the area, they had picked it up somewhere else. "Dirty Mexican" was another term used in name-calling; it was predominantly used by Anglos to Mexican Americans. Furthermore, the CSO-Clinic and familial rivalries, deep-seated in the community, were born anew in the child and served as another source of friction among the students.

The school did not appear to be doing much of anything to improve or promote human relations at the school. One case will illustrate this. A Black family moved into the city, and its second grade boy, X, joined the school. They were the only Black family in Hidalgo and X was the only Black child in the school. He was called names and beaten up by other children many times. Groups of children could be seen chasing him throughout the school and calling him names, while he seemed to be trying to make friends with them. His belongings were stolen from him. And he was seen wounded and crying many times. When he was being "difficult," the substitute teachers simply used to make him leave the class. And yet nobody in the school did anything to prepare his classmates, the staff, or the other students at the school for his arrival or during his stay. The classroom teacher would give a small lecture to those who beat X, but that did not help. X's parents learned about his having a very rough time at the school; the family complained and expressed their concern to the school, but no effective action was taken. Finally, X's family decided to transfer him to a private school.

Also, there was very little effort spent on educating for cooperation, human relations, affectivity, or racial harmony. There were occasional pictures or units on such topics, but they usually were abstract or general and not related to concrete events or problems. Some staff members did hang pictures of members of different ethnic groups on the walls of their classrooms; but these usually depicted the Indians or Mexicans in their most primitive life style, e.g., life in the loin cloth holding a hatchet, or Mexican Americans wearing sombreros while sleeping and fishing.

The atmosphere of racial relations for the adults was similar to that which prevailed between the student segments: toleration. There was markedly less mixing between the Mexican American aides and the rest of the staff than between the Anglo aides and the rest of the staff. And very few strong and lasting friendships existed between Mexican Americans and Anglos of any level (cf. Rosenfeld, 1971, for his discussion of Anglo and Black teacher relations in a Harlem school). When asked about interracial relations in the school, an Anglo aide made the following remarks which seem to capsulize it.

> Well, I think that there's a much stronger tie among all the Mexican Americans, although I'm not sure about . . . how the teachers are close with the community. I kind of have the feeling, not having observed too closely, that they kind of have the outward appearance of the Mexicans, but they don't really understand the

> community that well; they didn't really visit the community. I can imagine a situation where there is an Anglo teacher and a Mexican American aide, it is very obvious that the Anglo considers herself in a power position and is going to tell the aide what to do. So, probably, many of the Mexican American aides feel--as a matter of fact I've observed it--those Anglo aides that there are are probably able to feel much more part of the situation, and much more that they know what is going on, and that we trust you and you can take care of things, because you're not dumb, and you know how to do things. Whereas, most of the Mexican American aides I would imagine, are told step-by-step what they have to do because they might slip up, since they don't understand.

Staff Feelings Concerning Students

Carelessness (also noted in Silberman, 1970, and Rosenfeld, 1971) and what seemed like a lack of real concern for the children's welfare was noticeable in some other areas, too. There were always a handful of children who came or were brought to school as early as 70 minutes prior to class time which is nine o'clock. For many weeks in the winter the temperatures in Hidalgo drop to the low forties, and it gets rainy and windy with frost on the grass and ice on the water. Many of the children do not have warm clothes, either. And yet they had to spend a whole hour outdoors looking for shelter while the teachers would be drinking coffee, eating, smoking and chatting in the warm teachers' room. ~~Children were not~~ invited. One day a little boy peeped through the door at the teachers' room, and a teacher screamed at him, "Shut that door and keep it shut. You have no business here." Another incident may serve as an example.

> It is Friday just before Christmas. It is 2:15 p.m. and raining and cold. Mrs. ____ walked her class to the bus. There are five other children around. They asked the investigator if he would give them a ride home. He told them to ask Mrs. ____, so she could get them on the

> bus. As they asked her, she answered abruptly, 'Don't ask me, ask [the driver]. That's not my department." She walked away.

On another occasion it was lunch time and there were several people in the teachers' room. The school nurse walked in holding a Mexican American boy by the arm. She held him under the light and started looking for lice in his hair.

Some teachers also exchanged gossip and information about students with each other. One is told that a certain boy is an illegitimate child and his mother a prostitute. Teachers also told each other about children who drank at the age of eight, whose parents were alcoholics, drug addicts, or too promiscuous. One teacher told the investigator how he "knew who every student was and what he was like" before he actually started working at the school. He said he spent several hours with ____ (one teacher), who told him all about the children. This was necessary, the teacher added, because "You must know what and who you're getting so you can handle them."

Almost every adult in the school admitted to the existence of racism and discrimination against Mexican Americans in the United States in general and in abstract terms. But they denied any open discrimination and racism at Coyote. "Not here," they said. Most expressed optimism about the status of Mexican Americans in the future. Talking about the issue, one aide said:

> Many whites think that if you don't have a white skin you are stupid and inferior. Even many teachers think that way. When the Mexican American kids don't answer, the teacher feels, well he is dumb, and he puts him in the back of the room and forgets all about the child.

> This is not right. And then there are these tests they give the Mexican Americans. Well, many of these children don't know English well. So, of course they fail the tests. How can they understand? And then educators label the kids unintelligent, and they put them in special classes. This hurts the child because he begins to feel, 'Well maybe I am stupid and no good.' The situation is changing. You know, our country and people are changing. Maybe in 20-30 years the Mexican American will be treated as equal. Then they will have better opportunities.

Summary

The preceding chapter would seem to point to the following themes concerning human and professional relations at Coyote School as a complex social organization. First, relationships among adults were by and large hierarchical and authoritarian. Second, the relationships were characterized by the existence of unpronounced cliques and subgroups, where there were in and outgroups. Third, by and large there was little cooperation within and between the groups. Fourth, there appeared to be unpronounced ethnic cleavages among Mexican Americans and Anglos; interethnic and interracial relations were neither very congenial nor openly hostile, but of mutual tolerance. Fifth, people at all levels of the hierarchy were very conscious of their particular position in the status system. Various elements perceived themselves and were treated either as "high," "medium," or "low" in their status. Sixth, certain people in the upper echelons enjoyed more authority and pay, and more access to the still higher echelons, but were not held responsible for what went on in the school. Seventh, the principal seemed to, and was perceived by others to, vacillate between strict authoritarianism and laissez-faire in his dealings with others, and in his decision-making processes. Eighth, individual teachers had little or no power in influencing major policies, programs, etc., and were largely very dissatisfied in this regard; but they had a great deal of autonomy in how to carry out the decisions made by higher echelons, and thus felt satisfied in this respect. These points will be further developed in the following chapter on decision-making.

Interpersonal relations among adults at Coyote are bound to affect the pupils and their education. Insufficient cooperation and the existing rivalries among adults is likely to have at least some adverse effects on the children's education. Children may be deprived of certain services, material, and academic content in the process. Adults may also pass on to the children who go to the counselor, for example, the resentment the adults feel toward that person. More importantly, the adults may perpetuate the inter-ethnic conflicts and stereotypes that exist in the society (as noted in the instances reported under the heading Race Relations). And above all, the present situation does not appear to provide the kind of model the children should emulate regarding human relations in general. At this time when there is great need for humanistic and affective education, the adults at Coyote have to meet this challenge in a substantial way.

Chapter VII investigates decision-making processes as well as other factors at the school level which affect the social climate at the school.

CHAPTER VII

PROCESSES OF DECISION-MAKING AT COYOTE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The school as an institution and the individuals involved in it must make many decisions every day. This chapter deals with the processes of decision-making; it is a continuation of Chapter VI

Meetings

Formalized faculty and staff meetings were an integral part of the Coyote School operation. The meetings could be divided into three main categories, namely general staff meetings, team meetings, and specialized interest group meetings. The investigator attended as many of all of these meetings as possible. From these, he drew the following observations.

1. The principal, who was present at almost all of the general staff meetings, chaired the meetings. He usually stood (at a lecturn) facing the other participants, who were sitting. He spoke the majority of the time, and was the person spoken to most. Table VII-1 indicates average communication rates for the principal and other participants in faculty meetings by race.

Table VII-1 is based on data gathered during twelve general staff meetings which were attended by most of the instructional staff. Figures in the cells in the right hand column of this table represent

Table VII-1

Rates of Communication in Twelve Faculty Meetings
Expressed as Average Number of Communications
Per Person Per Meeting

Participants	Communication Rates
Communication initiated by the Principal	29.19
Communication received by the Principal	13.36
Communication initiated by Mexican Americans	.8925
Communication received by Mexican Americans	.3118
Communication initiated by Anglos	2.57
Communication received by Anglos	1.04
Communication initiated by Others	1.32
Communication received by Others	.698

the average rates of communication, per meeting, initiated and/or received, per person, from the particular category of individuals or groups noted in the left hand column, i.e. the principal, Mexican Americans, Anglos, and Others. Speech was the scoring unit in these meetings. Each time a person spoke, he or she was tallied once in the appropriate category. The figures in the cells were arrived at using the following formula:

$$\begin{array}{c}\text{Average}\\ \text{Rate}\\ \text{of}\\ \text{Communi-}\\ \text{cation}\end{array} = \frac{\begin{array}{c}\text{Number of total communications across 12 meetings}\\ \text{by individual or groups}\end{array}}{\begin{pmatrix}\text{Number of meetings}\\ 12\end{pmatrix}\begin{pmatrix}\text{Number of participants}\\ \text{in all 12 meetings}\end{pmatrix}}$$

The table clearly indicates that the principal initiated and received by far the largest number of communications. He is at least 14 times higher than any other participant from the other three categories in initiating communication, and over six times as high in receiving communication. He was the most active participator in the meetings. He is followed by Anglos, then Others; and finally come the Mexican Americans. The table shows that Anglo participants initiated and received three times as much communication as the Mexican Americans; that Anglos participated two hundred percent more than Mexican Americans. The principal, although an Anglo, was treated as a category by himself and separate from the other Anglos. The rationale for this was that he was potentially the most influential member in these meetings, and, therefore, including him in the Anglo category would have skewed the rates for the Anglos.

As significant as the very high level of the principal's participation is the very low level of active participation by Mexican Americans, mentioned above. This may or may not be due to any one of a number of factors, or a combination of them. First, Mexican Americans were either not able to articulate their ideas and opinions in English or they felt embarrassed to try with their limited fluency. Second, the communication system was such that with their peripheral organizational position, the Mexican Americans were kept out of the mainstream of information. They simply lacked the necessary information about the subjects talked about in the meetings, and thus had little to say. Third, even though they may have had ideas to express about the tasks, they felt and were made to feel incompetent in the presence of Anglos. This is explainable by the theory of status characteristics and performance expectations spelled out by Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch (1966). They point out that the distribution of observed power and prestige in groups follows a certain pattern.

> First, power and prestige tend to be uniquely distributed; second, there is a high intercorrelation between the components of the order; third, differences in power and prestige are highly correlated with influence over the group's final decision (Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch, 1966, p. 40).

Berger and others assert that

> When task groups are differentiated by some status characteristic external to the task situation, the distribution of power and prestige within the group is determined by external status differences, whether or not the members of the group have previously known one another or the external characteristic is related to the group task (Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch, 1966, p. 47).

This phenomenon takes place, they add, even when the task situation is not related to specific behavior commonly associated with prior status differences. Fourth, given their (perceived) marginal status in the school, perhaps the Mexican Americans simply did not feel efficacious enough to be able to exert much influence or power over the course of the meetings, or in the school in general. Fifth, the Anglo participants made little or no effort to involve Mexican Americans in decision-making in the meetings. This low participation is even more striking when you consider that three of the teachers are Mexican American and are highly verbal in both languages.

2. There seemed to be little or no debate or serious discussion in the meetings. When questions were raised, they were mostly points of information or how-to-do-it inquiries. Most meetings took the form of decrees, notifications, announcements, or suggestions for ratification and confirmation of what the principal or his close associates wanted confirmed. Alternative measures were presented only sketchily and usually hurriedly with the outcome therefore likely to conform to the principal's desires.

3. The meetings had some procedural problems. Predistributed agendas were rare. Only the principal or whoever was conducting the meeting had prior knowledge of the topics to be discussed. The meetings themselves were announced in the staff bulletins, issued biweekly. According to many teachers, the time and timing was another procedural problem. Most of the meetings were scheduled from 8:30 - 9:00 a.m. They rarely began on time; some people either could not make them or

showed up toward the end; and there seemed to be very little time left for serious consideration of the topic under consideration, if indeed any meaningful discussion is possible at that early hour. Some meetings were scheduled late in the afternoon, but this time appeared to be equally inconvenient for the teachers, and this incurred complaints.

4. The investigator was not certain if the Mexican American aides, in particular, really comprehended the substance of the proceedings all the time. Some of these aides had just sixth grade education and did not know much English. Special efforts were not made to include them in the proceedings. They usually sat in a group, out of the mainstream and listened, in the rear left hand corner of the room, for example.

5. During the inservice meetings for both teachers and aides, the guest speakers usually delivered the material in lecture form. There was little discussion. The speaker lectured, while the staff sat and listened. It was a one-way message system. In one instance, for example, a man lectured for about 70 minutes straight about the virtues of individualized, experiential, and inquiry learning/instruction. These inservice programs were not always geared to include, indeed draw in, those with low educational training, and maybe even not those with college training.

6. Finally, it became apparent that certain issues and decisions which affected everyone were sometimes never even brought before the meetings. People heard about them later on. For example, the principal alone appointed all the team leaders; he alone decided to send two of

his staff members to a workshop in Los Angeles. These and several other unilateral decisions by the principal were said to have aroused considerable resentment in many of his staff members.

One of the questions in the staff interview schedule (see Appendix F) dealt with decision-making at the school. Three themes and response patterns emerged. The first pattern of the decision-making process was expressed by the principal himself and those who were closest to him. The principal stated:

> An important factor is the involvement and participation of the staff--both teachers and the instructional aides--in the decision-making of what is going to be done in the classroom to help the children. My premise is that for the democratic type of administration, it's more efficient both for short range and for long range goals to bring the staff in for the planning stages. For example, these age forms which are the basic instructional program plans there, I pretty well blocked out the basic plans there based on the status quo; and I've met with the various teams to review those, to allow them to make changes that they feel should be made. We had a midyear evaluation. Teachers and aides basically evaluated services from the office --myself and the secretary--from the reading consultant, the counselor, the staff psychologist. In almost all the categories, the rating was very good. Again, these were unsigned; there was an open area for comments. The only area where there was concern expressed was the staff development or inservice program. We know this will require a little more staff involvement. We felt that what was selected was discussed with some staff members, but apparently not with enough staff members--those areas of individualized math, the reality therapy program; I felt these were all very humanistic and very sensible programs, but apparently some did not feel that way.

Later on the principal added:

> You always have to operate on the premise of majority rule here, although I think to explain to them the why is desirable. Again, if you have the small group which do not want to go along, as long as it is not totally disruptive

> to the total program. . . . If we have a loner who does not want to participate, then that person should transfer from the school to a more traditional type of school. . . . And this has happened in the past: I have asked teachers to transfer when I felt that their methods of teaching or their way of working with children, or their concerns or attitudes toward the community were not in keeping with what we feel is needed here. Now the word "we" I mean to be the majority of the staff, and we do have that now.

A team leader for the upper grades who had been appointed by the principal expressed her opinion as follows:

> This year we've been having team leaders, and I think it's been working pretty good. He's [the principal] so busy and all that you can't take all your problems to him. I think it did [create problems] last year, because of communication problems. Some of the teachers, you know, didn't know what to do with various schedules and various incidents that come up. But with a team leader he/she can go to the principal to settle it.

When the investigator asked the school counselor, who was perceived by most people as one of the principal's most trusted and important colleagues, how much power people had in the decision-making, she answered: "In this school, they have a lot of power. They can do pretty much what they want." Another appointed team leader felt similarly.

> Oh, we just do whatever, you know. Everything we've ever wanted to do, we've been able to do. Oh, yeah [as a teacher I do have a great deal of power]. I've never been told I can't do something that I've wanted to do. In fact sometimes we forget to let the administration know what we're doing. We changed classes, and no one knew.

A second view of the decision-making processes was expressed by the equally competent but seemingly dissatisfied elements in the school. This group's answer to the question was expressed by one teacher who said

> Nobody makes any decisions, and the only person who does is [the principal]. Yes [we have meetings], but it's a do or die policy. You get the papers ahead of time, you already know what you're supposed to do, and you better not fight it. I always tell the teachers . . . it's not to reason why, it's but to do or die. Don't question it and don't fight it. The meetings are a facade of democracy. You have no voice in it, period. It's just told to you. Like when we were having a new math system. I thought we would be able to choose our levels, according to what was told to me. I was supposed to pick the levels we wanted, and then we get the kids at that level. But they were already marked: you're going to teach at this level. I don't have any, no power, period. I mean they already told me, 'If you don't like it, put in for your transfer.'

Another teacher went further by saying, "No, I think it comes from the top. The principal doesn't have much control, but the Board. Not even the Board. I think the Administration tells the Board, and the Board tells him."

A third added her views, as follows:

> I don't really know how they're [decisions] made. I have found that in this situation most of the time I have to make any decisions. I go ahead and make them without consulting anybody. If it's really something urgent, it's two days later that I get a chance to talk to him [the principal] and then it's too late to do anything about it anyway. . . . They need somebody who is always there. I think too many of the decisions have to be made by the secretary, and I don't think that this is fair to her. Yes, we are unusually fortunate that this woman lives in the community, she's worked in the school, she knows every family; she can make a lot of decisions that probably a new person coming in couldn't. Somebody has a problem with a kid in the yard, they send him in, the bell rings, he gets up and goes out again. The secretary's not there to do the disciplining, she's got more than enough to do with her own work. So I really feel that from that standpoint we need somebody that is really there.

As for the staff meetings themselves, a teacher made the following observations:

> Well, you've been to our faculty meetings. How many people get to the faculty meetings at 8:30, and how many people arrive at 9? I mean there's no group effort. I think most of them are a waste of time; and I'm usually tuned out somewhere else. The same thing he gives us is the same thing that's on our Bulletin. And we can read. I just feel he's unorganized, and that makes some of us unorganized. Just like this Christmas program that is coming up. I have not been asked to do the Christmas decorations in Room 9 yet, but I know they're going to get me; and you know when they're going to get me? Tuesday morning, probably. I know I'm going to get stuck with this, I'm already so attuned that I'm already planning.

Another teacher talked about what she called manipulations, in faculty meetings, and said this about decision-making:

> Well, I'm very upset about this last one he just made--the Ferguson math program--because I think it was very cleverly manipulated. We were given a choice of do you want to spend four days at a workshop and make up your own program or take one somebody else has already made up. And everybody voted they wanted to take the one that was already made up. And in so doing I guess we voted it in, but nobody was aware that I've talked to. And all of a sudden, here it is, but we hadn't seen it. We're already implementing it, but nobody knew what it was. . . . I really don't feel that anybody knew what they were voting for, that they were voting it in. We thought we were voting between having one that was already made up and one that we had to make up ourselves, that was the choice. You see he's a very, very super-intelligent man, and he should be in the service, really. I mean whole droves of people do what he wants you to do; and when it's over--it's like mass hypnotism--nobody really knows what happened. And I suppose part of it is due to the fact he picks late hours to have meetings. And having a whole faculty meeting--which I think is a good idea--he discusses things which have to do with this group and that group . . . and half the time the things which are going on don't concern you as a person. And this way it leads to boredom and adds to the long day and the long hour.

The third view was that of decision-making as perceived by the aides. Most of the aides themselves did not feel competent to, entitled to, and/or expected to be involved in the decision-making processes. They simply came, followed orders, and went home. They remained marginal, were mostly treated that way, and they knew it. An aide verbalized the feelings of most aides when she said, "I think I am happy with it. Well, I'm not involved in it."

Another aide stated:

> They have a meeting, you do this, you do that, and who votes--ah--and that's it. Well, I've heard a lot of teachers say that we were going to discuss Ferguson Math and we were going to discuss that. But what happened? We had to vote.

When asked if she felt this was a happy state of affairs, she answered, "Not happy as far as I have heard. But I'm not a teacher." Another aide agreed with this:

> I don't know that much about it. Although I know we had a meeting for the Ferguson Math Program, and I had got the reaction before the teachers were sort of against it, because to start a new program in January is sort of a hassle, but then everyone said o.k. I couldn't understand that. I thought if everyone didn't like that, why didn't they speak up; but no one did. I don't know why they didn't. I didn't know if they were afraid to, if everyone decided to go along, or what. I wasn't there at that meeting.

She did not think that teachers had much power. One of the teachers expressed her opinion about this. She appeared to opt out and accept the decisions made for her. She said:

> I think it's done the only way it can be done. Somebody has to make the decisions at the top and some avenues have to be left open for you to make a choice, and that's the way it's done. The principal decides on the basic issues, we decide from these decisions how we want to do

> things. He decides we're going to have a Christmas program, and then we decide how we're going to go about having it. I think this is an appropriate way to have decisions. No, I don't feel that the instructional staff feels that decisions are handed down to them.

One of the instructional aides expressed her feelings on the subject.

> Now one thing is the way decisions are made. Not everybody's involved. I wish I knew how they were made. Decisions are made for me and just handed down. When I first got here I didn't know what I was doing, they just threw me in here. No inservice training, or nothing. Now that I'm just getting started there is this new thing about ____, but I wasn't involved. To this day the principal hasn't called me in and [explained the situation to me and asked me] 'how do you like it?' Nothing, now, there it is.

The P.T.A. and the P.A.C.

As in any other school, there was a Parent Teacher Association at Coyote and Hidalgo. It had fifteen members, thirteen of whom were Mexican Americans with two Anglos. Seven of the members were part or full time school employees. There were no teachers on the P.T.A., and only three of the fifteen members were men. The P.T.A., under the presidency of a preschool aide, had not been very instrumental in promoting school-community relations. Several parents interviewed did not even know about its existence. During the time of this field work, the P.T.A. arranged for two community-wide functions. One was the "Back to School Night" and the other was a lecture on drug abuse and water fluoridation. The first was attended by the entire school staff and many parents; it was also promoted by the school. The second function was attended by six of the school staff, 13 parents, and about 20 youngsters.

Perhaps more important was the recently formed Parent Advisory Committee (P.A.C.) at the school and the community. The Committee was formed because Federal and State guidelines of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Title I programs, require as of 1970 that community parent advisory groups be established in schools and school districts, to help plan and operate compensatory education programs. According to these guidelines, "the structure of advisory committees must be such that the parents of children in the program have a majority voice in the committees" (Reyes, 1971). The school district may in fact use Title I funds to provide the necessary training for the members of the Committee; no such training has yet taken place in this case.

The Committee consisted of 20 members, 17 of whom were Mexican American women with the remainder being Anglo women. Nine of the Committee members were part or full time school employees. It held regular monthly meetings which were well-attended by the Committee's members. The investigator partook in seven P.T.A. and P.A.C. meetings and three of their functions, and made the following observations. First, the parents and members did not seem to have sufficient information concerning Title I money, programs, and bylaws; they had no record of programs, policies, or expenditures; they had limited exposure to the outside world of alternative educational programs and projects for their children, and thus were not able to offer any viable alternatives. This also made it difficult for them to evaluate the programs given. The school staff had a great deal of information on the aforementioned subjects. And some of these staff members did attend P.A.C. meetings or were invited, but it was an exchange of information on a limited basis, and language and experience barriers hindered this communication among the Mexican American and Anglo members of the P.A.C.

Second, the Mexican Americans did not appear involved in the basic communication concerning their role, functions, and their prerogatives in or outside of the meetings. They simply lagged behind in the communication process. For example, in one of the district P.A.C. meetings, sending a representative to a statewide meeting was discussed; the Anglos supported each other, spoke in English only, decided to send an Anglo lady or her designee; and only then were the Mexican American members told about the agenda item in Spanish. This is probably an unfair example, since the rule was to conduct all business both in English and Spanish. But the fiat serves as an example of the detrimental effects of the language barrier in and of itself.

Third, given the language barriers, and the relatively passive behavior of Mexican Americans in the presence of Anglos as well as their lack of information, there was a tendency for the Anglo members to participate more actively. Anglos seemed to dominate the meetings. They seemed to control more information, and articulated their thoughts well; they knew parliamentary procedure--which was rigorously enforced--and behaved more aggressively. Table VII-2 gives comparative rates on participation in P.T.A. and P.A.C. meetings by race. Although it is

Table VII-2

Rates of Communication in Seven P.T.A. - P.A.C. Meetings Expressed as Average Number of Communications Per Anglo and/or Mexican American Per Meeting

Participants	Communication Rates
Communication initiated by Anglos	25.30
Communication received by Anglos	12.30
Communication initiated by Mexican Americans	9.25
Communication received by Mexican Americans	4.58

based on seven meetings only, it should serve to illustrate the point.

As Table VII-2 indicates, on the average, Anglo participants initiated almost three times as much communication, and received about three times as much communication as that initiated and/or received by the Mexican American participants. These figures are consistent with those reported in Table VII-1 for the communication in staff meetings. In spite of Mexican American clear superiority in membership in P.T.A. and P.A.C. meetings, seventeen to three, Anglo members participated more. This is especially significant because included in the Mexican American group were at least two who were very articulate in English as well as in Spanish.

This low level of active participation by Mexican Americans in P.T.A. and P.A.C. meetings may be explained by the theory of status interaction disability (Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch, 1966). As elaborated upon earlier in this chapter, according to this theory, one's status in an organization or group is the basis for general expectation to be competent or incompetent at a task which is considered important by the individuals involved. It could be said that Chicano members were handicapped in several respects, and were thus ascribed lower status by Anglo participants, which, in turn, may have led to their lower participation in the meetings.

Summary

Chapter VII focused on the processes of decision-making at Coyote School. The principal perceived the school, and would like to present it to the general public, as a model of participatory democracy.

He talked a great deal about peer and coworking relationships among all of the school employees, regardless of their status and/or qualifications. Some of the school employees did not share the principal's perception in these regards, however.

There appeared to be a gap between what the principal states as desirable and the actual day-to-day conduct of the school's affairs. The principal clearly dominated most of the decision-making processes at the school level. We also saw that, in fact, the school was characterized by a hierarchical structure. The principal was the head of the hierarchy; following next was a small group of his associates--composed entirely of auxiliary personnel, followed by the team leaders next. The teacher cadre had very little to do with major decision-making, and the aides had almost nothing to do with it.

Upon questioning, the principal offered a wide variety of reasons for what the teachers felt was lack of consultation with them. But whatever the reasons, this state of affairs seemed to have caused resentment among some teachers and aides.

The school is expected to and purports to educate and prepare children to live in a humane and democratic society. However, Coyote School appears to present a somewhat authoritarian model in its faculty and staff organization and interaction. And this authoritarianism and/or heavy emphasis on compliance at the adult level may be communicated to the pupils. It is believed by the investigator that this state of affairs can be particularly damaging to the children of Hidalgo, since these children are faced with many instances in which they can feel powerless; and this model would tend to reinforce the frustration and powerlessness these children may feel.

Chapter VIII will present in detail the teacher's relationships with the children inside the classroom and outside. It will be noted that the hierarchical structure which the teachers experience at the school level is projected into the classroom. In that chapter, teacher frequency and type of transaction with each "type" of student in the classroom will be noted.

CHAPTER VIII

TEACHER AND STAFF ATTITUDES TOWARD CHICANO STUDENTS

Teacher-Pupil Transaction in the Classroom

This portion of the study deals with teacher-pupil transactions in the classroom. The classroom is viewed as a small social system consisting of formal and informal social structures in which role-players occupy various positions. These role-players are the teacher, the aide(s), the boys, and the girls, of both Chicano and Anglo extraction. Educational sociologists (e.g., Cohen, 1972) have observed that classrooms contain various status systems and that the teacher is closely involved in the development and perpetuation of some of these status systems. The attempt here was to investigate these status systems and the effects they might have on teacher-pupil transaction in the classroom. It was predicted that under certain conditions these status systems determine teacher-pupil transaction, which in turn has important effects on the students' self-concepts, and involvement in the classroom activities. One way to obtain a clear view of this is through the study of interaction in the classroom. It can be said that if this interaction is skewed, that is, if it includes only one segment of the students and/or if there is only one-way communication, the effects will be felt in the classroom; and a status system will be established including the major participants in the interaction at the top of the system.

By status is meant the ranking and ordering of individuals in a group; status means an individual's position in relation to others. Cohen (1972) suggests that the relationship between the teacher's activities and student learning may depend on the existing social system in the classroom. She points out that such cause-and-effect relations in the classroom are not unidimensional. Rather, they run in several directions; that is, the teacher affects the students, and the students affect each other and the teacher. The classroom social structure, she adds, is a product of these interrelationships. Cohen theorizes that the resultant social structure in the classroom produces differential treatment of students by the teacher.

According to Cohen, these effects on learning probably interact with the students' abilities and with the methods of teaching. One's ranking in the status system of the classroom may have important effects on his/her learning because of participation (or nonparticipation) in the learning activities and the teacher's feedback and evaluation to the students. Membership in one status system may determine active involvement in the instructional process, while rank in another status system may cause passivity and withdrawal in the students.

It was predicted that teachers extend differential treatment to the students of varying social status in the classroom. It was predicted that teachers discriminate (consciously or unconsciously) against Chicanos and females. Seven forms of verbal, visual and physical teacher-pupil transaction in grades K-6 were observed, scored, and analyzed. Two hundred fourteen hours of observation were accumulated.[1] For the purposes of this study, transactions were collected during three full days of observation in every one of the seventeen classrooms at two points in time; all teacher-pupil transaction was divided up into seven major categories: Reward, Punishment, Control and Management, Academic Prestigious Tasks, Non-Academic Non-Prestigious Tasks, Non-Task Academic Interaction, and Non-Task, Non-Academic Interaction. (See Appendix I for the actual examples of the seven categories.) After the collection of data for all the observation periods, transaction rates were computed using the following formula:

$$\text{Mean Rate} = \frac{(100)\displaystyle\sum_{\text{periods}} \frac{\text{Number of transactions of given type directed to pupils of given type during the period}}{\text{Number of pupils of given type in class during period}}}{\text{Total number of periods observed}}$$

It should be indicated that the investigator was studying differential treatment by teachers toward four major categories (status occupants) of pupils, i.e., Chicano boys, Chicano girls, Anglo boys, and Anglo girls; and that is why we have used rates. Since they refer to units of student-teacher transaction, rates are arrived at independently of the number of pupils and the number of observations. This permitted the investigator to compare transactions among the four categories. And it compensated for the differences in class size, although ideally class size should have no effect on the equity of teacher-pupil transaction. The figures in each cell in the following tables refer to the range and rate of that particular type of teacher-pupil transaction per (40 minute) period, for every student belonging to that particular category.

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[1] It should be pointed out that one observer (the investigator himself) collected all the data; several constraints as well as the nature of the study hindered the presence of more than one observer. The investigator did, however, take a second observer with him for a short time, and inter-observer agreement was fairly high. The results here should be viewed with some reservation until such time as they can be replicated under more rigorously methodological conditions.

Table VIII-1 shows that, in general, when interaction is broken down by ethnicity, and when we control for sex, teachers interacted more with Anglo than with Chicano students in all of the seven areas. Anglos were praised and rewarded three times as much as Chicanos. Anglos were given three times as many academic tasks and opportunities as Chicanos. Anglos were assigned three times as many non-academic tasks as were Chicanos. Teachers had twice as much non-task academic interaction with Anglos as with Chicanos. And they spent ten times as much time talking about non-academic issues with Anglos as they did with Chicanos. Moreover, Anglo students drew more punishment and more control and management acts from the teachers than did Mexican Americans. There will be an attempt to explain these findings later in this chapter.

In Table VIII-2 we controlled for ethnicity and looked at the distribution of interaction by sex. It was found that the teachers interacted more with boys than with girls in all of the seven transaction categories. It was particularly marked in control and management (1.244 acts for boys and .905 for girls), punishment (.149 for boys and .095 for girls), and in academic-prestigious tasks (.352 to .294). The fact

Table VIII-1

Mean and Range of Classroom Teacher-Student Transaction Rates by Race for 15 Coyote Elementary School Classes (With Control for Sex)

	Reward	Punishment	Control and Management	Academic Prestigious Tasks	Non-Academic Non-Prestigious Tasks	Non-Task Academic Interaction	Non-Task Non-Academic Interaction
With Mexican Americans	.258 .07-.83	.115 .02-.44	.985 .32-1.16	.252 .02-.78	.080 .03-.28	1.133 .48-1.62	.573 .25-1.03
With Anglos	.651 .00-1.52	.137 .00-.88	1.434 .00-3.69	.677 .00-1.37	.146 .00-.34	2.027 .00-3.87	1.009 .00-1.53

$$\text{Mean Rate} = \frac{(100) \displaystyle\sum_{\text{periods}} \frac{\text{Number of transactions of given type directed to pupils of given type during the period}}{\text{Number of pupils of given type in class during period}}}{\text{Total number of periods observed}}$$

Table VIII-2

Mean and Range of Classroom Teacher-Student Transaction Rates by Sex
For the Entire Coyote Elementary School Sample
(With Control for Race)

	Reward	Punishment	Control and Management	Academic Prestigious Tasks	Non-Academic Non-Prestigious Tasks	Non-Task Academic Interaction	Non-Task Non-Academic Interaction
With Male Students	.336 .07-.66	.149 .04-.57	1.244 .35-2.30	.352 .02-1.08	.090 .00-.20	1.298 .52-2.19	.683 .32-1.34
With Female Students	.325 .13-1.00	.095 .00-.50	.905 .26-1.75	.294 .04-.87	.088 .00-.26	1.256 .63-2.18	.621 .19-.95

$$\text{Mean Rate} = \frac{(100)\ \underset{\text{periods}}{}\ \dfrac{\text{Number of transactions of given type directed to pupils of given type during the period}}{\text{Number of pupils of given type in class during period}}}{\text{Total number of periods observed}}$$

that Anglos as a group and boys as a group drew more punishment and control will also be interpreted later in the chapter,

Table VIII-3 compares teacher-student transaction rates for the four categories of students (Mexican American boys, Mexican American girls, Anglo boys, and Anglo girls). The Anglo boys rank the highest in every one of the seven areas of interaction. Anglo girls rank second in four of the seven areas. It can be seen that Anglo girls drew less punishment than Mexican American boys, but more than Mexican American girls. And in non-task academic and non-academic areas, teachers also interacted less with Anglo girls than with both Mexican American boys and girls. Mexican American boys rank third in their rate of interaction with teachers, except in non-academic tasks and in non-task academic interaction. And finally, overall, Mexican American girls rank fourth in every one of the seven transaction categories.

These differential rates of teacher-student transaction, that is, the differential treatment that teachers extended to occupants of the four status systems (Anglo boys, Anglo girls, Chicano boys, and Chicano girls) may be due to any one or a combination of the following reasons. The reasons may not be equally applicable to transaction in every one and/or all of the seven categories. They apply more to the areas of reward, punishment, and control and management. Nevertheless, they can be considered as overall explanations for teacher discrimination against Chicanos, and females regardless of their ethnicity.

First, it may be that teachers do not expect "good" behavior from their Mexican American students to begin with. Thus, when they

Table VIII-3

Mean and Range of Classroom Teacher-Student Transaction Rates by Race and Sex for 15 Coyote Elementary School Classes

	Reward	Punishment	Control and Management	Academic Prestigious Tasks	Non-Academic Non-Prestigious Tasks	Non-Task Academic Interaction	Non-Task Non-Academic Interaction
With Mexican American Boys	.209 .06-.64	.143 .03-.61	1.036 .36-1.70	.265 .01-.76	.077 .00-.15	1.185 .33-1.81	.523 .30-1.34
With Mexican American Girls	.207 .08-1.00	.075 .00-.43	.773 .29-1.59	.257 .01-.78	.090 .00-.34	1.204 .54-1.68	.472 .20-1.44
With Anglo Boys	.803 .00-2.07	.180 .00-.92	1.839 .00-4.28	.764 .00-1.93	.180 .00-4.6	2.241 .00-4.36	1.071 .00-2.00
With Anglo Girls	.602 .00-1.61	.097 .00-.84	1.152 .00-2.79	.549 .00-1.52	.111 .00-.35	.515 .00-5.08	.235 .00-1.77

$$\text{Mean Rate} = \frac{(100) \sum_{\text{periods}} \dfrac{\text{Number of transactions of given type directed to pupils of given type during the period}}{\text{Number of pupils of given type in class during period}}}{\text{Total number of periods observed}}$$

see instances of misbehavior in their Chicano students, they are probably less angered by it, prone to ignore it, or to deliver less control and/or punishment. Teachers may entertain some of the following rationalizations about Chicano students. As a consequence of these students' peculiar socioeconomic and cultural background, "misbehavior," fighting, use of bad language, disruption, and so on, may be considered justifiable if not acceptable in the eyes of the teachers. Most teachers perceive Mexican American parents to be too busy, tired, apathetic, and/or drunk to worry about their children's proper upbringing. Many teachers are convinced that most of these parents just let their children grow like vegetables without the benefit of cultivation. And consequently, teachers may perceive and interpret chronic misbehavior among their Chicano students as "understandable," "normal," and inevitable. So when anything less serious than a major catastrophe occurs, it may be considered a blessing, and it may be ignored.

Anglo students, however, teachers expect to be well-behaved. Teachers are likely to hold a different set of assumptions about the socioeconomic, family, cultural background, and the future role of their Anglo students. Anything these students did, therefore, was perhaps subject to careful scrutiny and feedback. These children would "matter" in the world, so it was important to train them right, might be the thought. It could be that teachers perceive these students as not incorrigible, with many background factors the school cannot control. They are changeable. And it is important that they be molded correctly (Leacock, 1969).

Second, some teachers simply did not care to correct misbehavior in their Chicano students. The investigator witnessed several instances of this. One example is Lujan, a fourth grade boy. He was labeled as a "spoiled," temperamental, hyperactive, restless, and non-studious boy. The boy would leave his homeroom and go to another classroom or to the counselor any time he wished. "He had a very short attention span and could not work on the same task for more than a few minutes," it was said. Further, he talked back to some of the teachers. To deal with him, he was allowed to distribute the lunch to the students whenever he wanted to, which was quite frequently. He did not like doing school work and was about three years behind. Lujan had a reputation for all this and several other facets. In trying to find a reason, the investigator was told by a teacher that Lujan did not have a father. This teacher said he should have been put into the EH class and given special help, but he had not been able to be screened yet, and there was no room. Yet, when he did work at something, he was seen to do it very well. Nobody in the school did anything about Lujan. He was allowed to do whatever he wanted to and go wherever, whenever he pleased, as long as he did not disrupt his class. Lujan was often seen wandering around the school, and that was the way he passed the entire school year.

Another example was in a class where the teacher was discussing the Weekly Reader with the students. She held up the picture of a United States President and asked if the students knew him. One Mexican American boy answered by saying, "Yes. I know him; he's a S.O.B." The teacher, visibly shocked, looked at him without saying anything. She went on to the next topic. There were other instances at different times when this student and others in different classes were heard by the investigator to say things such as "My butt itches," etc., none of which were challenged, discussed, corrected, or acknowledged by the teacher.

The above examples, extreme and few, were of behavioral issues which the teachers may or may not have been right to gloss over, perhaps in an effort not to impose middle class values on these children. The real crux of the issue, however, is whether in academic instruction these students who are mostly Mexican American are allowed to "get away with" many more mistakes, and thus do not receive the benefit of correction, because, perhaps, it does not matter if you correct these children, since they will never use it anyway. Ellen Lurie in her book, How to Change the Schools (1970), cites some examples where teachers have deliberately not corrected spelling mistakes by Black students in a New York public school, whereas her white daughter's mistakes were labored over in the same school. Could, then, the neglect of the behavioral issues described above carry over into instruction, so that these Mexican American children emerge from school less prepared than their Anglo counterparts to face the next challenge? Could they be missing vital instruction to their educational progress because of the "they're not going to get anyplace anyway" attitude? Leacock (1969) indicates that there is less demand for academic excellence from low-income Black students, and this might serve to hamper them academically.

This might be one of the reasons why she finds low-income Black students lethargic and apathetic in school by fifth grade.

In teachers' eyes, not only do the Mexican American students not "know any better," but even if they did, proper behavior or academic performance would not matter much. Table VIII-6, later in the chapter, shows that the most common occupations chosen by teachers for Mexican American children 25 years from now were Housewife and Clerk in a store. In other words, teachers may have given up on their Chicano students in every respect. Since they do not expect them to get beyond Clerk or housewife, "why bother with them" might be the attitude.

Third, teachers may punish and control Chicano children less because they want to avoid possible confrontation with these children. They are perceived as "violent and physical," and therefore pose a threat, which is expressed especially by the female teachers. Here Chicanismo, a growing movement in the town, is seen as menacing, and the children are seen as representatives of it.

Similar explanations can be offered for the differential rates of teacher-pupil interaction in the areas of academic and prestigious tasks. Anglo boys and girls come to school somewhat better prepared in language and other academic areas than Chicanos. Anglo children perceive themselves better prepared; and they exhibit this by more active participation in the classroom processes, and other aggressive and competitive behavior. Teachers, in turn, reinforce such feelings of competency among Anglos by better and more frequent feedback, rewards, and opportunities to perform academic-prestigious tasks given to Anglo pupils. Teachers may also, and do, hold higher expectations for Anglos as a group than for Mexican Americans. Anglos are expected to succeed in the American sociocultural system, and teachers do everything possible to assist them achieve higher goals; while the situation is different when it comes to Chicano children. These children come to school with language and academic handicaps. They participate less actively in instructional processes in the class. And they are less certain about achieving great successes in their adult lives, for they hardly know any adult Mexican Americans who have, in fact, "made it." The teacher, in turn, reinforces passivity, feelings of doubt, resignation, and inadequacy among Chicano students by giving them fewer action opportunities in class and by rewarding them less for what Chicano children do perform well.

The results would seem to indicate that in an interracial classroom, if you are an Anglo boy, you will have more opportunity to be actively engaged in the interaction and instructional processes in the class than anyone else. But being male does not guarantee a high level of participation. You must also have the right skin color. If you are brown, even though you may be male, your chances for complete involvement in the instructional process may be lower than the Anglo females. You are, in fact, ranked third. Anglo girls ranked second in four of the seven categories. Being female, then, does not exclude one completely from being part of the instructional process, as long as one has the right skin color.

But the worst thing to be in an interracial classroom at Coyote is a Mexican American girl. You will not be punished or controlled as much as students in the other three categories, but neither will you be involved in the transaction and communication in the classroom.

Finally, there may yet be another possible overall explanation for the differential rates of teacher-pupil transaction. And this is the possibility that Chicano children, in fact, perceive themselves as, and feel, passive, less efficacious, quiet, and scared; they act up less in class and take fewer risks; thus they incur less punishment and control from the teachers. And by the same token they initiate and are given fewer opportunities for academic and other task-oriented interaction. Anglo children speak up more, take risks, interact more with teachers, and thus incur more control and punishment as well as academic and task-oriented interaction. It is noteworthy that Chicano girls received less punishment and control than Chicano boys. But Chicano boys received more punishment than Anglo girls. This could be representative of one step further down the continuum, where, although Anglos as a group are likely to be interacted with more because the teachers have not given up on them and they act up, boys as a group are more likely to "get somewhere" than girls. It is the boys who matter--who play with the interesting toys (see the section on sexism in Chapter IX)--and thus who should be trained in the proper behavior and the "appropriate roles" prescribed for them by society. Girls as a group may be neglected, thus explaining why the Mexican American boys receive more punishment than the Anglo girls.

As it was stated earlier, the classroom represents a complex social organization which consists of several status systems. Cohen (1972) points out that these status systems may be based on societal status characteristics, sociometric status, and achievement status. Societal status characteristics refer to differences in sex, ethnicity, race, SES, and so on. Achievement status is based on grades, grouping, and general academic performance. Sociometric status is based on the students themselves ranking one another on the basis of popularity, power, attraction, influence, and so on.

There is sufficient evidence to show a definite relationship between one's place in the classroom status system and his or her active classroom participation and learning (Brookover, 1965). Katz (1972) and Brophy and Good (1970) found measureable associations between the students' social status and their activity rates in the classroom. They found that to be a girl is to initiate fewer communications in the classroom. Furthermore, Katz found that to be black or brown also meant to be less active in the classroom; to be Mexican American was to be called on by the teacher less often than one raised his or her hand. Anglo boys, however, spoke up and participated in classroom interaction more than they raised their hands (Katz, 1972). Katz's findings lend strong support to our findings in this investigation.

Achievement status affects pupils' learning through the concept of "self-fulfilling prophecy." This means that those students who are considered bright (i.e., Anglo pupils) initiate more participation and are evaluated as bright; and this favorable evaluation by the teacher leads to further participation on their part. On the other hand, the situation is reversed with the less intelligent (i.e., Chicano) students. This concept of "self-fulfilling prophecy" is demonstrated in the work of Rist (1970) and Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968). Brophy and Good (1970) also found out that teachers interact differentially with pupils of different achievement ranks. They found that students rated "high" were more active in the classroom, and that teachers favored the "high" over the "low" students in demanding and reinforcing quality work. The "highs" were praised more for good work and punished less for poor performance. In this study, the "highs" apply to Anglos and the "lows" apply to Chicanos (cf. Leacock, 1969).

The effect of sociometric status in the classroom on learning has been demonstrated by Schmuck (1962, 1963). He discovered that children who know that they are less likeable and influential among classmates are likely to do poorly in their academic work in comparison to those who perceive themselves as high on these criteria.

An important byproduct of the study of teacher-pupil transaction in the classroom was to look at the way teachers spend their time in the classroom. As Table VIII-4 indicates, a mere 41.8 percent of the total instructional time in the classroom was spent on actual teaching-learning. Teachers spent the major portion of their time and energy on housekeeping activities, control and management in its broader sense. Preoccupation with control and management in the classrooms with "lower class" children has been previously documented by Deutsch (1960) and others. Deutsch indicates that as much as 80 percent of the school day

Table VIII-4

Mean Percentages of Total Teacher-Student Transaction
for Each of the Seven Interaction Categories
for the Entire Coyote Elementary School Sample

Total	Reward	Punishment	Control and Management	Academic Prestigious Tasks	Non-Academic Non-Prestigious Tasks	Non-Task Academic Interaction	Non-Task Non-Academic Interaction
99.9%	7.9%	3.2%	27.6%	7.6%	2.4%	34.2%	17.0%

$$\text{Mean Percentages} = \frac{(100) \sum_{\text{periods}} \dfrac{\text{Number of transactions of given type during the period}}{\text{Total number of transactions of all types during the period}}}{\text{Total number of periods}}$$

can be channeled in this way. An interesting and important study would be to find out exactly how teachers in "upper class" classrooms spend their time, and compare that with the findings from studies of "lower class" classrooms. It could be hypothesized that, as a rule, in "upper class" schools, teachers exercise much less punishment, control, and authority measures. The relevant question is that once we have accounted for the numerous disruptions throughout the 177 day school year, and once we realize that only 41.8 percent of whatever time is left is spent on academic interaction between teachers and pupils, then what and how much are these Chicano (and other) children learning, and of what? The answer to part of that question is clear. According to teachers' assessment in their interviews, about seventy percent of the pupils at Coyote Elementary School are anywhere from one to three years below the national norm in the core subjects such as language, math, and social studies. Deutsch (1960) indicates that the lower class Black child receives one-half to one-third exposure to the normal learning opportunities in the school. Teachers from a nearby junior high school complained to Coyote staff about the extremely poor academic preparation of Coyote's graduates. These junior high school teachers claimed at a joint meeting with Coyote's staff that Coyote graduates were functionally illiterate. But even if the results were not that drastic, they certainly would not be as prepared for future studies as one who had not so much "to make up."

These results are congruent with the conclusions of other investigators. Leacock (1969) and Levy (1970), for example, point out that in low-income urban classrooms the teachers' main objective is what the investigators call "the socialization of obedience behavior" rather than learning and achievement on the part of the students. The school performs, wittingly or not, mainly a custodial rather than an educational function for low-income children.

Discussion

Coyote students come to school with certain marked and unique characteristics. First of all there are culturally ascribed sex differences. Second, there are ethnic characteristics of students, being either Anglo or Chicano. Being Anglo or Mexican American also carries with it certain connotations, images, stereotypes, advantages, and disadvantages. Third, some students, i.e., Anglos, come to school with the advantage of knowing English and being from a culture which is more or less congruent with the school culture. But most Mexican American children come to school with language handicaps and are from a subculture which is largely incongruous with the school culture (see Chapter III). Chicano children are likely to experience at the start the "acculturation shock," and cultural confrontation and then slowly attempt to adapt themselves to the school culture.

Sufficient evidence has been offered here to demonstrate that, by and large, teachers and other adults at Coyote do not seem to facilitate this cultural transition for Chicano children much or help them improve their status in society. Not only that, but, as we saw, teachers and other adults at the school, whether intentionally or not, actually reinforce societal injustices in the inequality of educational opportunities. As was seen, tea[illegible]s in fact discriminate against Chicano children and to some exte[illegible] against females in general. Teachers, with whatever personal criteria [illegible] motives they might have, interact more with and give more opportu[illegible]ies to some students than to others. In the process, a new social st[illegible]cture develops in the classroom. The teacher is intimately involved in the development and maintenance of this new organization and structure in the classroom. Every day the interaction in the classroom confirms it. One is "fast," "medium," "slow," "right on," a "borderline case," "hyperactive," "a clown," "smart alecky," "my girl friend," an "EHer," an "ESLer," "speech handicapped," "nice and clean," "filthy," "the leader," or "the monitor." Soon the students internalize their particular labels and perceive themselves and others as such. The teacher becomes evaluative and judgmental (Charnofsky, 1971). Students' work and behavior is constantly judged, measured, evaluated, rewarded, and/or punished according to the teacher's own standards and criteria. The teacher establishes certain expectations (high or low) for various students, and the students, for their part, internalize these labels and attempt to live up to them. For example, a little second grade girl is told time and time again that she is "the best student in the class," and "she knows it." And so when she is put in the position of not being able to win a Tic Tac Toe math game against an "ordinary" girl, she becomes very upset; she cries for the whole period. On the other hand, a fifth grade boy who is diagnosed as an EH child tells the teacher, "I don't care about school or grades. Everyone knows I'm dumb. Because that's why they send me here." The teachers' expectations, usually manifest, may be detrimental on both ends of the continuum.

It can be argued that such labeling may lead to elitism in the classroom; and that this in turn may be the cause or result of differential treatment by the teacher extended to different students in the class. Such differential treatment by the teacher may, at times, have nothing to do with the current situation. The teacher does not "see" mistakes or "misbehavior" committed by the "better students." It is selective perception. The teacher may even perceive the right behavior of a "trouble-maker" or a "slow" child as wrong. The "better students" become cocky, outspoken, and can "get away" with much more. They are interacted with by the teacher more; and they can exchange jokes with the teacher. The "slow learners" and the "problem children" are the antithesis.

The following incidents may illustrate the points made above. A teacher had divided the class into three groups. The "best" and "fastest" group was called "right on," and read way above grade level. The group was located close to the teacher's desk, separated from the other groups by a shelf which held the books for this group. Members of this group enjoyed much more freedom and the teacher interacted with them more. One day when the group was getting out of hand, the teacher came up to the group and asked them why they were seated and treated "specially." A boy answered, "because we are smart." The teacher said, "Yes, but what else?" "Because we work," said another boy. The teacher nodded in agreement and said, "What else?" A girl answered, "Because we can be trusted." The teacher said, "All right, so let's keep it down." All this conversation took place when the other groups (the medium and slow) were listening.

Later that day an Anglo boy from this "right on" group started playing with a big fly. The group was supposed to be working on Latin America; and the teacher was working with the other groups. The boy chased the big fly to the window, caught it, and brought it back to his peers at the table. It became a game of fun. The boy would put the fly in his pocket, take it out, and show it to his friends, who were laughing fairly loudly. The teacher heard this, looked at the group, but ignored it. The boy put the fly in his pocket, took it out again, and put it on the table. At this point, the fly could hardly fly. Several children played with it. The teacher came to the group and asked in a very matter-of-fact way what was happening. When he was told about the fly, he laughed and made some funny comments to the group which made them laugh even more. He did not reprimand anyone; and the students did not seem to expect it, either.

This stood in sharp contrast to another incident in the same class, when the aide sent one of the "borderline cases" to the map. This Mexican American boy was looking up some place on the map when the teacher noticed. The teacher reprimanded the boy by saying, "What are you doing there, ____?" The boy seemed very frightened; he stood speechless, looking down. The aide told the teacher, somewhat embarrassingly and angrily, that she had sent him to look up a place.

In another class it was time for the music lesson. The teacher was explaining to the students a handout which had been distributed in the class the previous day. While the teacher talked, in the back of the room, a boy raised his hand and told the teacher, "I don't get this, Mrs. ____." The teacher gave him a quick and nasty look, and said to him abruptly, "I know that." She continued to explain the sheet, brushing the boy's question aside. Later, the same student told the teacher that he did not have page nine. Again the teacher brushed aside his problem, saying, "I know." The student showed signs of disgust, anger, and frustration. During recess the teacher told the investigator, "You really have to be on top of him to keep him quiet." This student was known as "noisy" and "a trouble-maker." But during that music lesson he was not, and actually had legitimate problems. (The investigator saw that he did not have page nine.) And yet the teacher did not see it that way. Often teachers turn their relations with students into "versus relations," that is, teachers engage in a constant battle with their students rather than working in harmony with them.

Not only do teachers not expect good performance and good behavior from the "slow learners" and "trouble-makers," but even when these students exhibit good performance or behavior, it is often either ignored (not seen) by the teacher, or they are not given any credit for it. For example, Mrs. _____ is working on vocabulary and spelling with her class. She has distributed prepared sheets and the pupils are to fill in certain blanks. The teacher goes over the task with them; she calls on various pupils to give the right word beginning with a certain letter. She addresses the class, and _____ answers loudly and correctly. The teacher stares at him; then an Anglo girl repeats _____'s answer. The teacher smiles at her and says, "good."

In the process of his/her interaction, the teacher develops biases, likes and dislikes toward various students. He or she smiles at, jokes with, holds hands with, and gives more opportunity and credit to those he or she considers "smart, nice, good workers, and helpers," and conforming. Some of the students also learn at an early stage how to play the game, what the teacher's vanities and vulnerabilities are, and how to capitalize on these. Such students try to get good grades even if it means cheating. They raise their hand, they stand in the line, they hang around the teacher during recess and lunch hour, they smile, they say "please" and "thank you," they wait for their turn, they walk when the teacher says walk and they run when the teacher says run, they bring occasional food or gifts to the teacher, and they report on their classmates and other teachers to their teacher. Those who succeed in the classroom situation may indeed become the teacher's favorite students; and he or she spends more time with them, gives them more tasks, more support and more credit for anything they do.

Coyote Adults Comparing Their Lower Class Chicano Students with Upper Middle Class Anglo Children

The instructional and administrative staff at Coyote had definite attitudes toward their lower class Chicano students, vis-à-vis upper middle class Anglo children from other communities. And these attitudes were by and large negative. They had much more positive attitudes toward "high status" Anglo children. The adults responded and behaved as if they "knew" what middle class Anglo children were like without even having taught them. Having previously found that only two of the administrative and instructional staff members had worked in the middle class neighborhood schools of X and Y (towns), the investigator asked the following question of these people: "According to your experience, how do the Mexican American pupils at Coyote compare with the pupils from, say, X and Y, on the following characteristics? Check the appropriate box." (The boxes were Same, Inferior, and Superior.) It should be pointed out that both X and Y could be categorized as, by and large, exclusive lower-upper and upper-middle class Anglo communities.

Table VIII-5 shows the results of this question. As the table indicates, the respondents ranked their Chicano pupils inferior to upper middle class Anglo students on all but three of the nineteen variables. The respondents ranked Chicanos superior on the variables of affection, hostility, and happiness. But even there, the percentage of those who ranked the Chicanos as superior was not very high. The three areas, it is also interesting to note, represented areas in which Chicanos are "supposed" to be higher than Anglos. The respondents seem to go along with and confirm the general stereotypical Anglo view of the Mexican Americans. It is generally believed that the Mexican Americans are carefree, happy-go-lucky, and down-to-earth people; they are perceived as warm and affectionate, but at the same time very "physical," "violent," and openly hostile. Nine people (out of the 38 respondents)

Table VIII-5

Staff Rating of Mexican American Pupils from Coyote School in Relation to Pupils from X and Y (N = 38)

Characteristics	Mexican Americans Are		
	Inferior	Same	Superior
Discipline	34.5[1]	58.6	6.9
Motivation	55.2	37.9	6.9
Manners	37.9	44.8	17.2
Academic Performance	65.5	34.5	0.0
Extracurricular Activity Performance	46.4	42.9	10.7
Athletics	6.9	79.3	13.8
Leadership	37.9	58.6	3.4
Curiosity	17.2	65.5	17.2
Educational Aspiration	72.4	24.1	3.4
Occupational Aspiration	72.4	20.7	6.9
Future Orientation	75.9	24.1	0.0
Attention, Ability to Follow Instructions	41.4	58.6	0.0
Hobbies	69.0	27.6	3.4
Future Success Likelihood	86.2	13.8	0.0
Affection	6.9	34.5	58.6
Hostility	17.2	48.3	34.5
Happiness	10.3	62.1	27[illegible]
Interest in School	37.9	55.2	6.9
Valuing of Education	57.1	32.1	10.7

[1] Each cell reflects the percent of respondents (N = 38) who rated Mexican American pupils from Coyote as Inferior, Same, or Superior in comparison to pupils from X and/or Y.

did not feel they could answer the question, stating they were not familiar with the neighborhoods.

In the areas of educational aspiration, occupational aspiration, and future success likelihood, a very high percentage of respondents, 72.4, 72.4, and 86.2 percents respectively, believed that Chicanos were inferior in all these areas. Students do not share these aspirations. A survey of students (see Table VIII-7) indicated that the students had much higher aspirations for education, occupation, and the future than the teachers expected them to have. (It should be noted that the teachers were also asked in their interviews as to whether they thought the students shared their predictions for their aspirations. Generally, the answer was "yes." So, here again adult attitudes toward Chicano youngsters seem to be based on hearsay and stereotypes.) Typical stereotypes have it that Mexican Americans are present-oriented, that they do not value education and excellence; that they have a low level of aspiration, and that they cannot delay gratification to seek a long-term goal. However, the student responses do not lend support to such stereotyping.

An important point needs to be made in this regard. As mentioned earlier, only two of the 38 respondents had experiences working in the schools of X or Y. And yet all but nine answered the question in such a fashion that it seemed as if they knew exactly what the children from these two areas were like and how they would compare with the Chicano children from Hidalgo--that they would compare more favorably with the Chicanos. Twenty-nine adults took it for granted that those upper middle class Anglo children are far superior in sixteen of the nineteen characteristics. This is stereotyping, and it can be explained by the theory of "diffuse status characteristics" propounded by Berger and others (1966).

Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch (1966) state that to define diffuse status characteristic we must use the concept of a characteristic as any property or attribute of a person, such as color, ethnicity, SES, or other things. Associated with this characteristic are specific expectations such as language ability and general expectations. It is because of this last quality that the concept is called "diffuse status." Level of wealth, for example, is a characteristic that is differentially evaluated; it is better to be rich than poor. Also, for each state of a characteristic people hold expectations; these are beliefs about how people with a certain state of a given characteristic will behave in an appropriate situation. Social class

> is a diffuse status characteristic in a community if the white-collar class is thought, ipso facto, to be more worthy, smarter, more moral, more industrious, or more energetic than the blue-collar class, and in fact altogether superior in almost every way that counts in the community (Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch, 1966, pp. 33-34).

Hughes (1952) suggests that a status characteristic is a "symbolic trait," a "brand name," significant not so much for what it is as for what it stands" (Hughes, 1966, p. 31). Berger and others add that

> what it stands for, unfortunately, is rather a large number of things. Status characteristics are associated with differences in honor, life-chances, special privileges, and immunities,

> rights before the law, styles of life, and the like (Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch, 1966, p. 31).

They point out that what a status characteristic stands for most, among other things, is evaluation. One actor (person) is either better or worse than another actor (person). One is better or worse with respect to specific traits which are associated with his/her status characteristic. For example, Anglos associate laziness, procrastination, "machismo," violence, incompetence, stupidity, low level of aspiration, uncleanliness, as well as other traits, with Chicanos. Once you are identified as to who you are (i.e., a Chicano), then this associated system of beliefs (stereotypes) says what you are (if you are a Chicano you are dumb, violent, etc.). Judgments associated with a status characteristic tend to be generalized to include the whole person or a group. Thus, instead of saying that the Chicanos have difficulty with English, people say that Chicanos are unintelligent.

Chicano versus upper status Anglo is a comparison involving expectations based on diffuse status characteristics. Coyote adults compared their lower class Chicano students with (a hypothetical) upper middle class Anglo students/children as if they knew every individual in both groups personally. The fact is, however, that adults do not even know all of Coyote's children. And, except for two adults, the rest had never worked with children from X or Y. It can be concluded, then, that adult responses to this question were based on stereotypes they had about the two categories of children. Adults hold favorable attitudes and opinions about upper middle class Anglo children, and negative attitudes toward the lower class Chicano children.

It is recognized that there is some justification for the stated adult attitudes toward the Chicano students from low-income Hidalgo versus the children from upper-income Y. Because the public schools with their white middle class standards are representatives of the mainstream sociocultural system it is only reasonable to say that the Y children are indeed better on a great many of these variables. And it is reasonable to expect the Y children to achieve higher goals and lead richer and more productive lives, when compared with Hidalgo's children. Current social realities confirm such assumptions and assertions, for the American sociocultural system does, in general, treat Anglos (especially upper and middle class Anglos) far better than it does Chicanos. And so the respondents are realistic in their comparative judgments; they portray societal realities and perhaps reinforce them, too.

Whether or not these stereotypes are accurate, judgments based on them seem premature. The adults have not seen what these children can do, given appropriate education and the changing times. It may be fair to say that if the same type of differential treatment against Mexican Americans reported in this study has occurred in the past, then it is no wonder this ethnic group has not succeeded in the white middle class world. They have had no chance to; it is a vicious circle. And adult judgments seem to indicate and reinforce the fact that current stratification in the American society is frozen, thus implying the inevitable perpetuation of this circle.

Summary

In the analysis of classroom transaction it was discovered that the teachers tend to interact more with the higher status students, and these by and large are not Chicanos. The teachers, unwittingly or not, form a status system of their own in the classroom with the Mexican Americans at the bottom. Much of the bias may be latent and attitudinal. But it can be argued that such negative attitudes may lead to overt differential treatment of lower class Chicano students. It is this that leads to fewer interaction opportunities for the Chicano students compared with the Anglo students in the classroom. The Chicanos were involved less in classroom transaction, communication, and tasks. Fewer tasks were assigned to them and less praise was given to them, even when the Chicanos carried out such tasks successfully. And on the other side of the coin, it was also clear that teachers did not bother to correct their Chicano students when they were wrong or misbehaved: they accrued less interaction of all types.

The low educational-occupational aspiration and expectation on the part of the adults for their Mexican American pupils may contribute to what Rist (1972) calls "the ideology of failure." Most adults at the school had resigned themselves, it seemed, to the fact that the odds against their lower class Chicano children are so great that very few have a chance to surmount the existing barriers and achieve equal status in this society. Adults reasoned that their Chicano students were seriously handicapped by language, poverty, poor academic achievement, and skin color; and thus these children could not realistically aspire to high level professional occupations or higher education.

Furthermore, we saw that many adults at Coyote believed that their lower class Chicano students were simply inferior to upper-middle-class Anglo students/children. And it was also found that girls, as a group, were interacted with less in general. Possibly, the reason for this may be that because they are not expected to achieve high level status, all they needed to know was how to be good housewives. This rationale would lend support to their receiving somewhat more interaction in the non-academic categories (see Table VIII-2).

It appeared that the educational-aspirational level of the children is higher than that of the adults in the school system for them.

CHAPTER IX

COYOTE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL: A CLOSER LOOK

Organization of Grade Levels

There are seventeen classes at Coyote Elementary School which range from preschool through the sixth grade. The various grade levels are divided by the school into the following units: the two preschool classes, four kindergarten-first grade classes (a nongraded system in which kindergarten and first grades are combined), the second and third grades, and the fourth-fifth-and sixth grades.

Preschool. Coyote and Hidalgo have had a preschool program since 1967, funded by the State of California. It was designed for four and five year old children who come from families certified as poor. State, County, and District guidelines stipulate that only children coming from families with Aid to Dependent Children (AFDC), former or potential welfare recipients, low-income families, and children from broken homes or whose parents have poor health, may qualify for admission. According to school officials, there are many children in Hidalgo who qualify, but they must wait because state budgetary allowances provide for just thirty children per year. The preschool program is financed and controlled jointly by the State Department of Education, the County Welfare Department, and the local school district; but it is run and managed by Coyote School. The three stated agencies decide on the budget, which is based on a compromise between the number of families certified as poor, and the total amount of money available for the county in question.

Furthermore, preschool guidelines do not allow a pupil-teacher ratio of more than fifteen to one. Consequently, not all children who may qualify for the program can benefit from it; some must wait. The age limit also imposes some limitation in that only children between the ages of four and five may and can be enrolled; and the four year olds are given preference.

The children are selected by the two preschool teachers, who are both Mexican Americans, with the assistance of the principal and the welfare and social service agencies. The children are at school from 9 a.m. to 1 p.m. They receive a snack, lunch, and periods to rest and play in. They also receive instruction in language, art, science, and music. The main goal, according to the teachers, is to help the children overcome their "family and cultural handicaps" and prepare them to cope successfully with the public school.

Hawaii English Program and Bilingual Education. At Coyote School, the kindergarten and first grade children are participating in a bilingual education program as well as in an adaptation for Mexican American children of the Hawaii English Program (called Project Aloha). The Hawaii English Program seems to represent a major breakthrough in the teaching of language skills to kindergarten through third grade children. It is a nongraded curriculum package based on a philosophy of individualized and experiential learning with sequenced sets of activities according to diagnosed capabilities built into the system. Project Aloha is designed to serve as a demonstration of the Hawaii English Program curriculum in Chicano dialect for mainland use. An underlying principle of the Program is that teachers participate in language skills activities, rather than teaching them to the children. The system is multi-modal, multi-media, bilingual, and differentially staffed. These children learn to read in Spanish or English and will hopefully learn to speak and understand both languages. Children learning to read in English participate in the Hawaii English Program, while children learning to read in Spanish participate in the Spanish Reading Program. Lessons in social studies, science, and math are presented in both Spanish and English. Bilingual teachers and aides work with children in both languages so that they may be sensitive to the differences in both cultures and develop a greater degree of mutual interest and understanding.

Both programs assume that children are not all alike and that they learn in different ways and at different rates. Therefore, the programs provide a variety of ways of learning so that the child may put together the combination that helps him/her most. Activities as well as books help children to learn. Children, with the help of teachers, make their own decisions and discoveries instead of memorizing what is in a book or what the teacher says.

Another important aspect of the program is that children help each other learn; this is called peer teaching. A child who is finished with a certain task teaches one who is just starting it. It is assumed that the teaching child will profit from fixing the knowledge more firmly in his mind, and the learning child will profit from the help and encouragement he gets from a friend. The children also plan and keep track of their own progress instead of waiting to be told what to do. In this way, they learn to take charge of their own learning. Children of different grades (kindergarten and first grade) are put together in the same classroom. The older ones not only give the younger ones a model to follow, but they also learn from helping the younger ones.

Structure and Organization of the Staff

Coyote School has organized its teaching cadre around the current concepts of differentiated staffing, team teaching, cooperative teaching, and self-contained classrooms. The entire faculty is organized around what they call four teams: the preschool team, the K-1 team, the second/third grades team, and the fourth/fifth/and sixth grades team. Each team has a team leader who was appointed by the principal at the start of the school year; they receive a small amount of extra remuneration for the title. Mrs. _____, a Chinese lady who teaches fourth grade, is team leader for the fourth/fifth/ and sixth grade team. Mrs. _____, the Indian lady who teaches second grade, is team leader for the second and third grade team. The K-1 unit has two team leaders. Mrs. _____, an Anglo lady, is team leader for the bilingual aspect of the program, while Mrs. _____, another Anglo lady, is team leader for Project Aloha or the Hawaii English Program.

According to the principal and almost every adult at Coyote, the preschool team has not functioned very well. In this case the two teachers and the two aides are all Mexican Americans. The principal explained the problems with this team:

> The preschool team is the weakest by far and is my chief concern. We have two new teachers. Mrs. _____ was a former teacher in the bilingual project. She is very good in teaching English as a Second Language and Spanish as a Second Language. She works well with the children. Her one weakness is that she overemphasizes the Spanish language, and this is a subject that we're in the process of correcting--it's coming along fine. In her situation too, she is assuming a new role besides teaching, of a supervisor of an instructional aide. Mrs. _____, the team leader, works well with the children, but she has been very reluctant to participate in, for instance, the ESL program, which the non-English speaking children really need. There's also been a problem of friction between herself and Mrs. _____. There are perhaps jealousies here, where she doesn't feel competent in working in a bilingual program when Mrs. _____ has had two or three years experience. Again, she also is assuming a new role; she also has an aide to supervise. Now, getting back to Mrs. ____ briefly, you recall Mrs. ___, we had to take her out. Mrs. _____ is younger, Mrs. _____ is older. In this particular case yes, Mexicans do find it difficult to work with each other. There's the age differential. Also, both of the aides there at the time, Mrs. ____ and Mrs. ____, had a much different role before. The former teachers were really not fluent in Spanish--Mrs. _____ is very fluent; she's practically bilingual, bicultural. Well, all of these should be working as a team, but of course they don't. Mrs. _____ was assigned as the acting team leader, and she did not frankly do a very good job. In her situation, again, I think she confided too much in her aide, Mrs. ____. And Mrs. _____ didn't like Mrs. _____, she didn't know why.
>
> Teachers lack really knowing how to plan with their aides. We are going to get them some assistance there. Working together as a team, they also need much more help in doing that. In the preschool, we have abandoned team leadership; it will be floating: I will be there once a week, Mrs. _____ once a week, and Mrs. _____ has volunteered to come. So we're going to have three to four weeks and then we're going to have a person come in to be acting unit/team leader to get that thing going, and that of course is a long story in itself. We need technical assistance/contingency management. We've had a meeting of the minds about how we will solve the problem. Now we've got a beautiful plan, we've got a strategy.

As stated earlier, staff organization at Coyote embodies the concepts of differentiated staffing, team teaching, cooperative teaching, and self-contained classroom teaching concurrently. The concept of differentiated staffing is patterned after departmental structures at the university level, and is being experimented with by the school. Its stated objective is for the school to utilize the resources of its teaching staff more effectively, to provide for professional mobility within a school structure, and to save money. However, this practice, in this school, seems to have resulted in establishing a somewhat hierarchical and stratified structure at the school. The principal occupies the top of this hierarchy. He is followed by the resource teacher, the team leaders, the rest of the teachers, and then the aides, in that order. Most major decisions are made at the top with little consultation with the team leaders, very little with the teachers, and none with the aides. Needless to say, the students are not even considered as part of this hierarchy. All decisions at the school, even those which affect the children directly, are made by adults and without consulting the children. For instance, it is the adults, namely the principal and maybe some teachers, who decide whether to eat indoors or outdoors, whether to begin classes at 9:00 a.m. or 8:45 a.m., how to make the schedule of classes for the school day, and so on. And the system does not appear to provide for mobility for "team members," since team leaders are appointed by the principal (see Chapter VII on decision-making). The only possible chance for mobility is if the appointed teacher leaves the school altogether. But even then, a new one might be brought in from outside.

Only the K-1 team is functioning smoothly; the second and third grade team is working somewhat smoothly; some of the upper grade team members are somewhat dissatisfied with their team leader. The preschool team, already mentioned, collapsed completely due to severe intra-team member conflict.

In the K-1 team all the children are divided into two groups. Each group is theoretically divided into two subgroups, and each subgroup into several learning stations. The four teachers and four aides work in two teams. The classrooms are set up in the form of open-space classrooms.

Upper grade teachers and some others throughout the school cooperate with each other. For example, one teacher may teach music, art, reading, and/or crocheting to another teacher's class or group of students. But normally, all classes from second through sixth grade are run and managed in the traditional form of self-contained classrooms. Here, the particular homeroom teacher with his or her aide, if there is one, works with his or her students in their own classroom. This applies to all the classes except the K-1 unit.

It appears that differentiated staffing and team teaching are inherently problematic to some extent, at least as interpreted in this school; and this is reflected even in the relatively smooth functioning K-1 unit. Following is a brief summary of some of the difficulties as interpreted and described by some members of this team. First, the consensus was that various team members have different standards for behavior, discipline, expectations, and academic performance, which they try to enforce. An example is that some team members enforce rigid rules for lining up students, making them form "supercircles," keeping quiet during rest period, raising hands, and so on, while others do not consider such things important. Consequently, the children may get confused about which standards to follow, and this inevitably leads to problems. Mrs. _____ elaborated on this point and gave the following account:

> We are having problems that we did not anticipate. For example, the way different teachers treat the kids. There is a little problem between Mrs. _____ and me over this one little kid. He acts out, and I think he is a spoiled little boy. The other day we went on a field trip. Carl was acting out, and I thought he needed . . . well, one in the rear. But Mrs. _____ was babying him. So I wanted to discuss this with her. I told her in the teacher's room that "I have a little bone to pick with you." I didn't really mean it seriously. She had to meet the principal and then came the weekend. I tried to call her at home, but she wasn't in. So we haven't had time to talk about this, and I don't know how and what she feels. But it has to be discussed. Things like this, some kind of behavior that may not bother Mrs. _____ drives me up the wall.

Second, some teachers said that team teaching makes it very difficult, if not impossible, for teachers to establish the necessary rapport with the students. There are so many adults dealing with the children, that the establishment of that "special" relation becomes impossible. The teachers reported the absence of harmony, continuity, understanding, respect, and so on under the new system. For instance, some said that in a self-contained classroom, if a teacher told the class that she was not feeling well for the day and asked them to be quiet, the students would be quiet. But they said that in a team teaching situation, the students would not keep quiet, because the teachers and the students do not really know or care for each other.

Third, one teacher reported increasing incidences of vandalism, theft, and carelessness on the part of her students for school property. According to Mrs. _____, this happens because the students pass through four rooms every day; they are transient, and they do not really care for or identify with any of the rooms or the material in them. It is not their room.

Fourth, other teachers expressed concern about the loss of authority over "their" students. By authority, they reported to mean the respect, fear, awe, and care which pupils develop for their teachers. The new system, these teachers said, does not provide for this kind of relationship, because the child deals with about eight people, and he or she does not know who the real authority figure is. Teachers have individual educational philosophies, and they do talk about "my children," and would thus like to mold the children into their own idiosyncratic patterns. But the new system does not allow this to happen; and this seems to bother individual teachers.

There are many factors which may operate on the working of teaching teams and many reasons for success, tension, and total failure within teaching teams. The following two reasons seem to be the most likely and important sources of tension within teaching teams at Coyote, and perhaps elsewhere as well.

First, many of the teachers and the investigator feel that it is extremely hard to run a new system with traditional teachers. Most of

Coyote's teachers are products of an entirely different educational system which emphasized, among other things, self-reliance, individualism, competition, memorization, cognitive skills, teacher-centeredness, "discipline," and so on. The new educational system's values are almost the complete opposite. But most of the teachers have not received adequate training and/or re-education in the new system, and they do not believe in it thoroughly, either.

Second, group dynamics and interpersonal relations among team members must be taken into account. Personal habits, competence, individual qualities and many other characteristics on the part of team members can either hinder or enhance team work. Most teachers are not trained to work in groups, and as the principal pointed out, active cooperation is a prerequisite for team teaching to work. Furthermore, the team composition, its evolution, and/or the emergence or appointment of team leaders constitute other important factors in team teaching. Molnar (1971) indicates that teams cannot just be created and left to function or flounder at will. Support services are needed to help the teachers attain good group process while attending to their tasks at hand.

And there are the 19 aides who in almost all cases receive the "short end" in everything. They are not consulted, and they do not attend team meetings, either. In fact, most of the aides do not have keys to their classrooms. Differentiated staffing seems to have increased communication among the teachers considerably. But at the same time the new practice has created some new problems: competition, jealousies, hierarchies, etc. The aides, some of whom are certified and/or very competent teachers, are paid very low wages; most of them are given menial duties, and are resented by some teachers who feel threatened by them. This is in line with what Frank Brunetti (1972) has found in his research on differentiated staffing.

Teaching Methods and the Structure of Curricula

Teaching methods vary from teacher to teacher, and from one subject to another, even when taught by the same individual. One can see instances of very traditional approaches to teaching. In these traditional classes, which are few, the children are seated in rows, and in one case boys and girls were separated into alternating rows The teacher tries to teach the same material to everyone in the class, and he or she is the main actor in the instructional process; the students are sitting passively and absorbing or reciting materials. However, this traditional, teacher-centered approach to teaching is rare at Coyote.

Most teachers utilize modern approaches to teaching. Here instruction is individualized--the cognitive material is fitted to the needs, interests, and abilities of each child or a group of children. Different children use different materials and/or learn at their own pace, depending on whether they are labeled "fast," "medium," or "slow." An example of this modern approach to teaching is the Ferguson Math System recently adopted by the school, albeit with some reluctance on the part of some teachers.

The Ferguson Math System is a teacher-developed and tested program, which provides for the sequencing of the mathematics curriculum according to state-adopted texts. The math concepts taught in the one hundred levels start at kindergarten and continue into seventh grade material. Each child is given a diagnostic test in Spanish and English, and is placed into the level in which he or she needs help.

The program is constructed to utilize many teaching-learning materials including audio tapes, filmstrips, teaching charts, manipulative materials, and games that reinforce the basic mathematics concepts. The program includes multiple teaching approaches: math level worksheet packets, diagnostic tests in Spanish and English, student profile folders, instructional (teaching-learning) kits, and Neufeld blocks which teach one-to-one relationships, place value, and number operations. The profile folder provides a permanent record of each child's progress through the levels. As each level is completed satisfactorily, the teacher signs the chart, and a new level is assigned.

In teaching Science, Social Studies, and Language, most teachers use the "contract system" approach. The teacher prepares workbooks, exercises, and other programs in each subject. He or she explains the work the students are expected to do, the students work individually on their contracts, and the teacher evaluates and grades their work. This is called individualized, contract, experiential, and participatory instruction.

Ability grouping is a common feature in every classroom. Based on the student's I.Q., cumulative record, conversation with the child's previous teacher, and the teacher's judgment of the student(s), the teacher divides the class into groups of "fast," "medium," and "slow" students. Teachers use actual test scores plus the background information in grouping. In some cases the groups have names such as the Black Panthers (although there was but one Black in the school), the Hidalgo Readers, the Coyote Readers, and Snoopy and the Red Baron. The groups are generally flexible, except in a case where a child is diagnosed as educationally handicapped, hyperactive or is in the English as a Second Language (ESL) program. Sometimes teachers use the peer teaching concept, whereby the better students are assigned to work with the slower children. Peer teaching, however, is most common in the kindergarten-first grade classes.

Interest grouping is applied almost exclusively at the K-1 level. There are several "stations" in the room, such as the math, art, blocks, social studies, and language stations. Children decide with the teacher's help what station they want to work at during a certain instructional period.

Second through sixth grade teachers send some of their students to the library, the learning center, or the EH teacher for one period a day for specialized work and assistance.

With very few exceptions, Coyote school staff is engaged in experimenting with and implementing some of the most up-to-date teaching methods and curricula. The school is attempting to adapt differentiated staffing and team teaching. Almost all of the teachers use individualized and experiential teaching methods. And the school is trying to discover new ways of structuring the curriculum content, such as the bilingual program, the Ferguson Math System, and the Hawaii English Program. Additionally, the school is attempting to develop and utilize fully its library, a learning center, the ESL room, and the program for the EH children. And the school has begun to adopt the nongraded, open-space classroom system in its organization of grade levels from Kindergarten through the third grade. Coyote is experimenting with these and many more educational innovations. In this respect the school deserves a great deal of praise and credit.

But there are other areas where the school may need to look at the situation. For instance, subjects such as language, science, social studies, and math are taught in isolation from each other, implying that they have little or nothing in common. And individual subjects are fragmented, too. For example, take English: it is broken down into spelling, reading, language arts, writing, story telling, and sometimes speech. Each of these components is taught at a separate, designated time, as if one aspect had nothing to do with the others, and as if students were responsible for a certain segment only at its designated time. A certain amount of time is allocated for a certain subject or a subject segment, and as soon as that time is over, the class must switch to the next. Teachers, on being questioned about this, came up with such rationales as, "That's how it has been," "It's more convenient this way," and "It's easier." Such a situation is, indeed, not characteristic of Coyote School alone. Rosenfeld (1971), in his study of a school in Harlem, New York, writes about a similar situation:

> It is as if he is being told that the bits of learning he is being presented with are after all only temporary,

> and that he must be ready to relinquish his accruing insights at any given time in order to go on to other involvements. He learns in this way to "play it cool," knowing that his feeling for his subjects cannot be intense or lasting (p. 41).

Audiovisual materials are a big part of teaching at Coyote. The utility and occasional necessity of audiovisual supplementation to other teaching media and methods is self-evident. In Coyote, many classrooms have their own television sets. The preschoolers watch Sesame Street; and all the others who have television sets from second to sixth grade watch The Electric Company, an educational program, daily from 12:00 - 12:30 p.m. It seems doubtful, however, that the same program could be equally suitable for both second and sixth graders. In this regard, an aide talked about some sixth graders thusly: "It means that these kids have not learned anything in four years." To give an example, the investigator watched The Electric Company, Number 18, in one upper class on November 17, 1971, and he again watched the very same program in a lower grade on November 18. The program contained the following exercises: Bid, Bad, Bed, Bud, Did, Ded, Brat, Brick, Brain, Neat, The,The Sled, Mat, Bit, Bate, Pete, Cut, Cute, and days of the week. There were also skits on Pay Your Electric Bills, Do Not Bother This Giant Person, Love of Chair, Bracelet, and others. The classes rarely follow these shows up with discussion; they are just watched. The appropriateness and the timing of these shows was never discussed by the teachers or the school. The shows were rarely introduced or previewed. And sometimes the teachers themselves do not watch them.

There is also heavy reliance on the part of most teachers on the use of films and filmstrips. One teacher indicated that there were 100 films ordered for this teacher's class to be used over the next three month period. Films are ordered by the teachers from the local district office, which delivers them to the school and then picks them up at a later date. The two movie projectors are constantly busy, and there is much competition and some argument over the use of these projectors. Sometimes one teacher may simply take a film which was ordered by another teacher and use it just because "it was there," or "I heard it was good." Teachers do not usually review these films, and rarely discuss them after the showing. Sometimes the teachers themselves do not even watch the film, and instead attend to other chores while the students watch the show. On one occasion a teacher showed the same film twice to his students because the film was on a Mexican American football star, and the teacher himself liked football. On another occasion in the same class the students were working on math while there was a baseball game on the television. Some player hit a home run, there were screams from the television, and the teacher asked the students very excitedly, "What happened? What happened?"

This anecdote, although a minor and rare occurrence, seems to illustrate the following. When the teacher likes something, he/she will make allowance for it. This teacher enjoys football and baseball, and so he turned the television on during a math calss. But there is another important point. When the teacher asked his class, "What happened? What happened?" did he expect them to be watching the baseball game or doing math as scheduled? It is quite possible that the teacher turned on the television to reward the students for doing math. But in this case, it would seem like the reward for some students was interfering with the learning of other students.

Physical Education. This is another aspect of curriculum and scheduling. California State laws require twenty minutes per day spent on physical education. In actuality, all of the second through sixth graders spend from forty minutes to an hour on P.E. every day. There are times when a class may have P.E. for two consecutive periods because, according to the teacher, "It is impossible to teach them anything." No doubt a healthy body is essential for a healthy mind; and some physical education is necessary for the children's physical development. However, in the opinion of this investigator, the wisdom of spending a full period and sometimes two periods on P.E. every day is questionable. Is it possible that teachers use P.E. and audiovisual materials to escape the real task of teaching? Rosenfeld (1971) reports a comparable situation: "Crayons were often used as a substitute for more extensive knowledge of the subject matter by teachers. They often replaced needed instruction" (p. 43). One reason why this might be so is that, in all fairness to the teachers, existing societal commitment to education and the current state of the art in education would seem to make teaching extremely difficult, especially at Coyote.

The teachers manage most aspects of P.E. They decide the choice or range of games or plays; they set up the teams and determine the team leaders. They referee the games. The following case should illustrate this point.

It was the last period on a Wednesday. Ms. ____ announced to her class that they were going to have P.E. She told them, "You have a choice between Steal the Bacon and Dodge Ball; you can vote." She went to the front of the class and said, "Those in favor of Dodge Ball, raise your hands." No one raised his or her hand. Then she said, "Those in favor of Steal the Bacon, raise your hands." There was a sea of hands. She said she was going to divide up the teams. She did. First she divided the girls into two teams, then the boys. It was time to go out to the playground, and she ordered the teams to go. But then she ordered two boys and one girl to go back to their seats and "start all over again." They were told to put their chairs right under their tables, walk, and leave the room quietly. They followed the orders. On the playground, she kept the score, and she acted as the referee and the leader. There was no noise allowed there, either.

All these measures such as individualized instruction, child-centered and problem-solving approaches, grouping, diagnosing and labeling the students with various names are accepted as the catch words, and are assumed to be the "be all" and the "end all" of modern and good pedagogy at Coyote. Examining the actual practices, however, seems to reveal several problems and it raises some questions.

First of all, almost all of the individualized materials and programs are developed in other areas, with a different population, by people whose experiences and working conditions may be quite different from those in Coyote School. The content as well as the sequencing of such individualized materials are unfamiliar in many ways to these Chicano students from Hidalgo. They also seem unfamiliar to many of the teachers and aides who require much support and assistance in using them.

One major complaint among the instructional staff was that too many innovations were taking place at the school at one time. They said that they did not have sufficient time, support, and in-service training to absorb and cope successfully with these innovations. This concern reflected itself in the resentment on the part of some instructional staff members toward the introduction of the Ferguson Math System and Reality Therapy. Those opposed intimated that they did not feel competent enough to handle the innovations; they also said that it would mean a lot of extra work for the teachers. Further illustrations are the problems everyone had with utilizing the learning center at the start. Neither the aide in charge nor the students knew what to do with most of the material therein. Although most of these problems were resolved eventually, there was a great deal of tension, nervousness, and resentment generated at the start. This could, perhaps, have been alleviated were support given for the innovation, such as in-service training en-masse for both teachers and students. It seemed as if the innovations were just thrown into the school without involving the staff in detailed planning and discussion about the usefulness of the innovation, the need for it, and its implementation. This will be further illustrated below.

Second, individualized instruction requires more instructional staff in the classroom, since different students work at different paces and on different aspects of the material at the same time. There are more pupils who need and demand constant individual help. But, under the circumstances, such help is not always available. And many of the aides are not looked upon by the teachers and some students as competent enough in the various subject areas to contribute. The paragraph below offers some statistics on the ratio of teachers to students in each class.

Not counting the aides, the average student-teacher ratio at Coyote was 26.6:1; this included preschool through the sixth grade. When we included the instructional aides in the calculation, then the student-teacher ratio dropped to 11.3:1. Below are pupil-adult ratios for the various units at Coyote. The fifth and sixth grades had 85 students, three teachers and one aide--a ratio of 21:1. The three fourth grades had 75 students, three teachers, and one aide who was there in the morning--also 21:1. The second and third grades had 117 students, four teachers, and four aides who were there only in the morning--a ratio of 19:1. The K-1 unit with its 80 students, had four teachers and four full time aides, giving a ratio of 10:1. And finally, the two preschool classes had thirty students, two teachers, and two full time aides--giving a ratio of 8.5:1.

Not counting the instructional aides, the average student-teacher ratio, 26.6:1 at Coyote, is higher than the ratios for California and the country at large. For example, in 1970, the average student-teacher ratio in California was 24.0:1; the average for elementary schools throughout the United States in that year was 24.3:1. The lowest student-teacher ratio, 17.9:1, was in Vermont, and the highest, 26.8:1, was in Utah (U.S. Department of H.E.W., 1970).

When we include the aides in the calculations, and when we disregard the experimental nature of the preschool-second grades, the average student-teacher ratio is lower than the lowest ratio for the entire country. But it should be remembered that second through sixth grade teachers at Coyote do not have full time aides. And in the upper grades, teachers have only one-third of an aide. This, plus the fact that new students join the school all the time, leaves some teachers with as many as 36 students in the class. Thus, student-teacher ratios at Coyote do not depict a totally accurate picture of the situation.

It must also be pointed out that according to teachers' estimates there are 55-60 students in the school who know little or no English at all, and who therefore need special, urgent instruction in English as a Second Language (ESL). Some of these candidates for ESL instruction do spend one or two hours per day with the ESL teacher, but they are in the regular classroom for the rest of the day. They are in the regular classroom along with those who are educationally handicapped--who may not yet have been screened or who spend only part of the day with the EH teacher--and with a fairly high student-teacher ratio. Adding all this together plus the nature of the existing curricular material and the laxity of some teachers and many aides, some of the classrooms turn into pandemonium, especially in the afternoon, which is the usual time that all these students are in the classroom at once. Many students require and desire individual help, and many of the programs, such as the Ferguson Math Program, require individual help, but it is not always there. As a result, many of these students engage in non-academic, divergent behavior. The role of the teacher thereupon becomes largely that of a manager/policeman; but even in that there seems to be little success. This situation may force teachers to resort to audiovisual materials and/or long P.E. periods. But when there are adults who can help the children, there seem to be fewer problems.

The investigator was asked by a second grade teacher to substitute for her for one period, which he did. It was a math class. He saw students literally begging for help, competing for his time, attention, and help. They followed him all around the room. There was not a single idle moment, and there was no discipline problem as long as he and/or the aide could answer the children's questions.

On another afternoon, a second grade teacher was teaching language arts to the class. One Chicano boy at the end of a row was simply not involved in the instructional process; he drove the teacher literally "against the wall." The investigator felt sorry for the teacher and embarrassed to be there conducting his study and witnessing this. So he volunteered to work with the boy. He discovered that the boy did not know one word of English. The investigator asked another boy to work as a team with him and translate for the first boy. It worked, and they did a lot of work; the boy appeared happy; and he ceased to be a problem. But the teacher had not had time to deal just with him. The fact is that every classroom contains such children.

Most of the instructional staff members said that the most difficult task they were facing was "dealing with very difficult students," "keeping the students' attention" and "getting the students to respect you and what you have to say." Furthermore, almost every one of the respondents said that they needed more full time aides, and more full time aides who were better trained, and that the student-teacher ratio must be lowered considerably. Under individualized instruction and with the high student-teacher ratio, as teachers and aides work with one child at a time, the others who cannot get help engage in non-academic activities. As teachers correct one child's contract, others simply wait in the line for tutorial. There were cases of teachers spending up to thirty minutes with one student, while the rest of the class was unattended. The teachers could not help the situation.

Rest Period. Frequently, directly following lunch, a rest period is imposed by the teachers. This seems to be a standard practice in most public schools. The preschool and K-1 unit teachers direct a period in which the children are persuaded, cajoled, or otherwise induced to lie on the floor while the teacher plays a record; anyone who moved was sanctioned and the best rester was usually given a paper crown, candies, or a sign with a happy face to wear. Other teachers asked the students to put their heads down on their desks as the teacher read a story to them.

Imposing this period, which lasted from 15 to 30 minutes, often became a real struggle between the teachers and the students. In the first place, the students may not and did not always share the teachers' feelings that they must rest. And in the second place it may be somewhat unrealistic to expect a whole class to be still. With a giggle here, a whisper there, some movement and play, the class becomes restless, and the teacher becomes upset. The teacher then may resort to further control, and the struggle is on. Or the teacher may read a story while most of the students engage in quiet activities. The description of a rest period in fourth grade is presented below.

The time is 12:20, and the children are back from lunch-recess; they are all seated, but still excited. Ms. _____ walks to the front of the room and announces, "All right, boys and girls, settle down. Heads down. I am going to read a story to you. It's Charlotte's Web." She begins to read while sitting down. Within the first five minutes of her recitation, a boy is racing a small car on his desk; four boys and one girl are going through their drawers; one girl is knitting and playing with a roll of string; three girls and a boy have their books open and look like they are skimming the material. Another girl is playing with her Mexican belt. The teacher is still reading, looking down at the book. She has not looked up all this time. A few students are resting on their desks. John is making faces at a girl. Finally, the teacher looks up. She catches John: "John, do you want to listen or make faces?" John answers, "I am listening," but he continues communicating with the girl at the end of another row. Another girl is busy fixing her hair. Two girls are pulling their eyelashes out and are making funny gestures to each other. The teacher continues to read without a pause and without looking up. Three boys and two girls are now squirming in their seats and appear restless and bored. One of these girls gets up and walks to the waste basket, ostensibly to throw something in it. The teacher interrupts her reading and orders the girl back to her desk to put her head down; the girl obeys. A red-haired boy by the window is making animals out of Play Doh. Another boy gets up, picks up a small piece of chalk, walks to the board, and puts it there. By this time hardly anyone is listening to what the teacher is reading. There is a great deal of quiet and a great deal of non-verbal activity going on. The teacher stopped reading at 12:48.

Competition and Cooperation. The nature of the teaching methods used, the structure of the curriculum, the physical plant, and educational bureaucracy all provide for and demand competition among students. Most academic tasks assigned to the students are geared toward individual performance. Even in cases where students are "grouped," students are graded upon their individual work, and only individuals are commented upon; the emphasis is on teaching individuals and individual learning. Small and overcrowded classrooms, heavy desks, and limited instructional material render cooperative and group work difficult to achieve. Furthermore, the educational bureaucracy, such as the school administration, the district office, and the State, requires that teachers give and submit individual grades and report cards with something more detailed on them than "pass" or "fail." The bureaucracy itself actually evaluates teachers on this basis, so they are not encouraged much to implement other procedures. And, in the final analysis, the teachers themselves are products of such a system--a competitive rather than cooperative system.

There is great concern with tests, grades, and prizes. It is not enough to learn or to have learned, but children must show that they have mastered the content and skills, and rewards or punishments are meted out on this showmanship. Students somehow seem convinced that grades and other rewards or punishments are indicative of one's total self and image. They consider the awards they can get as crucial to them, and most of the teachers, too, think this way. Teachers give grades, stars, happy faces, crowns, candies, longer P.E. periods, quick release for recess, and other such things in order to promote completion, excellence, and "good behavior." One teacher had cut out and pasted a paper mountain on a bulletin board. The mountain had plateaus on which the names of various students were pasted. Of course, the names of the "slow learners" or "low achievers" were at the bottom of the mountain, while the faster ones were at the higher steps. Another teacher had pasted seven pieces of paper in the form of a diagonal ladder. Each rung of this ladder represented one of the units in the reading material. Different students had their names on the different steps, with the best and fastest students at the highest step. This same teacher, while correcting papers one day, told the students that "the best work, the ones with A's, goes on the bulletin board. The rest goes in the junk."

A few teachers even grade students' behavior. One day a teacher was telling his students, "If you do well and work neatly and quietly, you will get triple A's." One student whispered to another. The whisper prompted the teacher to tell the class, "You people are not quiet; how do you expect triple A's?" Later on this teacher told that class, "In three minutes, triple A's will be in effect."

This emphasis on grades and competition generates, and in the eyes of the students seems to justify, all kinds of behavior, including cheating. A second grade teacher announced a spelling test and told the students, "This is to be graded, so you'd better do well." As she was dictating, several students in the back of the class were copying from each other.

The teachers use grades and other rewards for controlling students and maintaining the teachers' authority over them. The criteria for the rewards, however, are sometimes confusing, mysterious, and unpredictable to the students. For example, Mrs. _____, a kindergarten-first grade teacher, wanted her students to form a "supercircle" in the class and "sit quietly around it." She told the students, "If you make a supercircle, you will get another sticker for this month, and you may get a surprise." A little girl asked, "When do we get it, after seven stickers?" The answer was, "You never know. Maybe after seven, ten or twelve; maybe sooner." The student showed signs of puzzlement and disinterest.

Rules and Routines. One of the most striking characteristics of a school day in Coyote was the number of line formations created throughout the day. Teachers line the students up every time they go any place. Students must line up when they first enter their classrooms in the morning--sometimes even when they are waiting for the teachers to come in the morning they are supposed to wait in lines; they must line up when they leave their classrooms for recess, lunch, the library, the learning center, physical education and also when they return from any of these activities; they must line up when they want to drink water, wash their hands, sharpen their pencils, and/or check their work with the teacher. During interviews and throughout the observation period, there was a serious concern expressed by the adults with regard to rules, routines, and law and order in general. And most adults adhered to implementing the rules with tenacity. It seemed at times, to the investigator, as if the rules themselves were the desired end, rather than the means to some behavior modification. About lining up, one fifth-sixth grade teacher put it, "Girls line up the way they are supposed to, and boys line up the way they are supposed to, or we don't leave." To some teachers, it is not enough that the students form lines; they must form separate lines, the girls on one side and the boys on the other; the lines must be fairly straight, and there should not be any pushing or too much talking. If any of these rules are broken, the students are made to do it all over again, or they are punished in some other way. The following incident should serve as an example.

It is a fairly cold and windy day in Hidalgo. The recess is over, and the children are running from all over the yard to make two lines (one for boys and one for girls) at the door of their classroom for the second grade. The teacher and her aide are watching them at the door. Some students are making noise, joking, and pushing each other. The teacher shows disapproval of this conduct. She brings ten boys to the front of the lines and orders them to enter the room. She writes their names on the blackboard and tells them in an intonation of anger that they will not go to see the play put on by a fourth grade class. Then she lets the rest of the pupils enter the room. She warns the class, saying, "If others want to join them, that's O.K."

When it was time to go to the play, she asked the aide to stay in her class with the ten boys. The rest of us went to the play. The ten boys joined us in a few minutes. Apparently the aide had failed to contain them, and the ten boys had simply broken out, for the aide told the teacher that if those had been her own children, she would have known what to do with them. The incident made the teacher express much anger, but she delayed further action on it.

Lines, however, are not the only form of rules enforced at the school. A large percentage of the teacher's time seemed to be spent on talking about the rules.

It is the first week of school and the investigator is observing a kindergarten-first grade class. Mrs. _____ asks the children to "come and sit down." The children sat on the bare floor while teacher sat on her chair facing them. The teacher told them: "Today I am going to talk to you about some rules and things." She went on to say:

> This is a bell. When I ring this, you must stop and pay attention to me. Please don't ring my bell. I am the bell-ringer. When you hear the bell, you must stop playing or working and come to me immediately. This is my whistle. When you hear it outside, you must stop playing right away and do what I tell you to. You must

> clean up your tables when you finish working. Always raise your hand, when you have something to say. Don't just shout or talk. Our class color is yellow. We are a yellow class. Don't run in here, walk in the class. Don't scream in the class. There are two bathrooms over there. One is for boys and one is for girls. Use them only when you have to. When you go in, shut the door. When you use it, flush the toilet. And when you leave, turn the light off. Only one person is allowed in at a time. You may go and get a drink of water at that fountain, when you work.

On another occasion, the investigator went into a sixth grade classroom and saw the following writing on the board:

Things to talk about:

1. School rule
2. Keeping a clean body and mind
3. Lunch and eating habits
4. Behavior
5. Things on my desk
6. Fire drills
7. Physical education
8. Electives.

In a fifth grade classroom, the following was a chart on the wall:

School rules:

1. Don't fight
2. Listen to your teachers
3. No hard balls on school grounds
4. No running in the hallway
5. Don't get near the water
6. No ball bouncing

Class rules:

1. No running in class
2. No borrowing of things
3. One at a time at the water fountain
4. Leave pins and thumb tacks where they are at
5. No writing on walls or desks
6. No writing on or in school texts
7. Leave the fish tank alone.

The investigator saw three charts on the walls of a fourth grade with the following writing:

1. I got cited for:
    Coming late
    Talking out
    Standing and walking
    Not listening
    Eating and chewing
    Tapping on the desk
    Fighting and pushing
    Talking back to a teacher
    Passing out notes
    Lying and fooling

2. Stay after school double time
    Write up a rule (100 times)
    Stand in a corner (15 min.)
    Miss recess and P.E. (whole day)
    Carry a poster: "I act like a baby"

3. Triple A's for:
    neat paper
    correct answers
    being quiet

With some teachers it was not enough to simply follow the rules, however; one had to follow the rules well (100 percent). The preschool and kindergarten-first grade teachers, for example, insisted on having the children walk straight on the white line or the cracks on the paths all the way from their classrooms to wherever they were going. The children had to actually touch these very thin lines with their toes or they would be punished in some way. This is illustrated below.

Ms. _____, a preschool teacher, is taking her class to the children's play area in the park, about a four minute walk. She is at the head of the line, and the children are following her, walking straight on the white line. As they reached almost the end of the line, some children started running toward the playground. The teacher gets mad, yells, and stops everyone. Then she made the children make up a line, go back, and walk all over again.

Another example of the concern teachers showed with control and management is illustrated in the following anecdote.

It is about 9:00 in the morning in a K-1 class, and the children are all busily involved looking at books, playing with blocks, and engaged in other kinds of learning activities. At 9:12 the teacher rings the bell, calling the students to "leave everything and make a nice circle." There is a big blue circle in the middle of the room with numbers around it. She asks a girl to "collect the books and put them away." Some children do not want to relinquish them. The teacher angrily intervenes, and all the books are collected from the children and shelved. The teacher then asks again that a "supercircle" be made. She puts another sticker on the prize chart for November, and explains about possible prizes if the children make a "good supercircle." The teacher spent until 9:32 creating the supercircle, and telling the students about where they will go after story telling.

At 9:33 we all went to story telling. At 10:07, the class returned. The teacher again had the class make a "supercircle." And she spent some time on sending children to other rooms. Finally, at 10:25, with five girls and one boy remaining, the circle is dissolved by the teacher, and they go back to reading.

Time and circumstances do not much alter or modify the insistence on conformity and rules. A Christmas party is in full swing in one of the fourth grades. Rock music is being played. The children are dancing, eating the goodies, talking to each other, laughing, and having a good time. A boy comes up to the teacher and asks her if he can go to the bathroom. The teacher talks to him for a short time, and then allows him to go. The teacher then told the investigator about how "well-behaved and good-mannered" her students were.

Teachers resorted to various sanctions and rewards in order to ensure effective implementation of adult-imposed rules on the students. They used physical and verbal punishment; they used a whole gamet of managing techniques, such as keeping citizenship files on children, having class monitors, etc.; they used threats, coercion, "discussions," grades, candies, praise, and other rewards. It can be argued that adult preoccupation with the making, implementing, and enforcing of a variety of rules may be detrimental to creativity, initiative, spontaneity, youthful dynamism, divergent thinking or behavior, self-respect, questioning, and self-control in students. The situation becomes especially critical if and when some student threatens to trespass these rules. So, in order to survive, much less thrive, in this system and in order to obtain teacher rewards, one has to be a conforming, docile, and obedient individual who is well-programmed to respond to adult cues. As Charnofsky (1971) asserts, this high degree of adult preoccupation with rules, regulations, and sheer conformity may make the pupils feel powerless and impotent.

The investigator was observing a fourth grade class. It was cold and windy, and the door to the classroom was open. When he asked the boy sitting close to the door if he would close the door, the boy answered, "I don't know, we close it when she [the teacher] says, and we leave it open when she says." A sixth grade teacher asked his class, "When Mr. _____ visits us tomorrow, what is going to be on your tables?" The class answered in unison, "Nothing." "Right, beautiful," the teacher replied.

Even when teachers hold "meetings" or "discussions" about rules, the outcome is usually predetermined. One fifth grader noted this, saying to his teacher, "Mr. _____, how come you always make us say yes?" The teacher ignored the question. Another time some students risked deviation, and answered, "No." They were silenced immediately. A fifth grade teacher asked his students, "Would you like me to read for you?" Most students answered "Yes," but there was a faint "No" heard. The teacher inquired angrily, "Who said 'No'?" There was complete silence, and he read from 12:25 - 1:00 p.m. Teachers ran a constant battle with the handful of students who exercised some independence.

Socialization for Sex Roles

Coyote School is an institution with sexual segregation. Boys and girls from the preschool through the sixth grade do almost everything separately, and are treated separately and differently. The adult population, the physical plant, the organization of the curriculum, and the informal but well-established institutional norms perpetuate this sexual segregation. It can be said that the school is almost a sexist institution. It prescribes certain subjects, such as crocheting, knitting and special sports such as jump rope, hopscotch and softball, for girls, while boys are prescribed other subjects and sports.

Lower grade teachers give for reward paper crowns to girls and paper ties to the boys. Teachers line up boys and girls separately; and in some classes boys and girls sit in separate rows or groups. Boys and girls have their jackets in separate closets, which have pictures and signs of boys or girls on them. Boys and girls eat lunch at separate tables. They sit in special seats in the school bus. And two preschool classes have small kitchenettes for girls as a play area, and another area with blocks, trucks, fire engines, telephones, and so on, for the boys. At least on one occasion a teacher was heard reprimanding a boy who was playing in the kitchenette for being "in the wrong place, and to give those brooms and mops to the girls where they belong." The following account may further illustrate how teachers contribute to sexism, even at an early age.

It is around Thanksgiving time, and it is art period in one of the preschool classes. Ms. _____ has prepared two predrawn handouts for the class. One is a sketch of a little Indian girl, the other is a sketch of a little Indian boy. She distributed the boy's picture to the boys and the girl's picture to the girls. She gave the following instruction: "I want the boys to color the boys and the girls to color the girls, just like nice little Indian boys and girls."

When the investigator asked the teachers why boys and girls did not mix and why the sexes were kept apart, the teachers gave the following answers: "It's a tradition." "This is how it has always been." "Well, they don't like each other. It's the boys who don't like the girls; the girls are O.K." "I tried to mix them; it didn't work; they didn't like it. So, I gave up." "It's easy for organization." "Why, look at the way the boys play; they play very rough," etc.

Boys and girls on their part learn at a very early stage what sexual roles they are supposed to play, what is expected of boys and of girls. They have fully internalized the "proper" behavioral norms and patterns for "nice" boys and girls; and they know what is "inappropriate." When the investigator ate lunch at the girls' table, he would be asked such questions as, "What are you doing here? Why don't you eat with them [the boys]?" The girls say, with a giggle, that "boys are silly. All they like is cars, football, and baseball. I don't like them." The boys say the "girls are dirty. They cry easily. We just don't like them." The investigator was observing one of the fourth grades. The bell rang; it was lunch time. The teacher said, "All right, class, get ready." Boys and girls ran to line up at the door. The investigator was putting his material in his briefcase. An Anglo boy came up to him excitedly and asked, "Are you a boy or a girl?" The investigator, somewhat puzzled and bemused, said, "Well, I don't know. Why?" The boy answered, "Well, if you're a boy, then hurry up. Otherwise they [the girls] will get ahead of us."

Such separation is reinforced by adult behavior modeled at the school. Men and women rarely associate or mix with each other. Unless they are forced by the physical setting or the task, they normally keep apart from each other. Also, a clear majority of the female teachers are in preschool through third grades, whereas all the male teachers teach in fourth through sixth grade classes. So, since the upper grade classes and the lower grade classes stay in their groups, the male and female adults in the school have very little to do with one another.

Use of Time

Coyote School calendar for the 1971-72 academic year includes 177 teaching days. If one grants that school is a desirable place to be in, and the Mexican Americans need more of it, then 177 instructional days would appear to be hardly sufficient for the children in Hidalgo who must learn more and at a faster rate to "catch on." The rationale for compensatory education programs for the disadvantaged seems to be that disadvantaged students need a much heavier dose of academic content in order for them to survive in school and achieve parity with average white middle class children. The fact that there are summer schools for the disadvantaged means that they do not learn enough during the regular academic year. We can infer, then, that 177 school days are inadequate for Hidalgo's children to acquire sufficient academic content which would enable them to survive in school. And, in fact, we found earlier that children are up to three years below grade level; and junior high school teachers are complaining that Coyote students do not come to their school with reading proficiency. Then, one must also take into account that not all of the 177 school days are devoted to instruction, whether or not such instruction be effective or efficient. The school must also accommodate itself to political and bureaucratic problems and affairs; it must serve many non-educational functions, too. Chores such as collecting lunch money compete for the teacher's time, energy, and resources. The following paragraph indicates some of the activities which take up the school's time.

Three school-wide tests were conducted for hearing, eyes, and teeth. Classes were disrupted for several days as children were moved from place to place. One day was disrupted due to excitement and commotion caused by a "cow show" by a dairy organization. There were several minimum school days wherein teachers held in-service meetings, and the students came ninety minutes late or left school early. There were two full days of in-service training when the children did not come to school at all. Also, every teacher must administer the Metropolitan Achievement Test twice annually, correct it, and report it to the district office. This is a test, copyrighted in 1958 by Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., whose reliability and validity for Mexican American children from Hidalgo has been questioned by the teachers for Coyote as well as other schools. And yet the State requires its administration.

The preschool teachers must administer three tests to their children alone. These tests are the Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test, the Inventory of Developmental Tasks, and the Inventory of Social Development. This last test had to be administered twice this year, 1971-72, because of a bureaucratic error. But all these tests are developed and standardized with an entirely different population. This incurs special problems when trying to administer them to children from Hidalgo.

A great deal of time is also spent preparing for the standard American holidays in the standard American way. Such holidays include

Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, Easter, "Mother - Daughter's Day" and "Father - Son's Day," some of which have little to do with Mexican Americans. Christmas and Easter, ones that do have significance among Mexican Americans, are prepared for largely without respect for the way the Mexican Americans celebrate them. Classes spend time during the holiday preparations, decorating the rooms, making gifts, and practicing or singing songs such as Oh Tannenbaum, God Bless America, This Land is Your Land, etc.

Two students per week from the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades help with the lunch. To do so, they must leave class earlier than the rest. In return, however, they eat lunch for free. One student collects attendance forms and lunch money every morning, which takes up a major portion of his first period. A few students also spend time on selling ice cream, candies, or attending student council meetings.

Teachers, on the average, spend about 15-20 minutes of the first period on the Pledge of Allegiance, roll call, lunch money collection, preparation of attendance sheets, and other chores of the day. One must also not forget to include the time spent in lining students up and forming supercircles.

Already mentioned was the time spent on showing or reshowing films, watching television, and on other visual educational experiences. Three plays were prepared for and enacted, none of which had anything to do with Mexican Americans, their heritage, or their culture. There are also the various interruptions from the intercom or other intra-school communications.

At Coyote, of the time students and teachers spent in the classroom, only 41.8 percent of the student-teacher transaction consisted of academic interaction (see Chapter VIII). Adams and Biddle go even further in indicating that, of the student-teacher transaction, 84 percent consists of teacher-initiated transaction. Essentially, the student is actually speaking about five percent of the time.

Teachers spend their time on yard duty, duplicating instructional material, correcting homework, carrying audiovisual equipment to and from the office, administering tests, correcting and reporting them, when they have little to do with their work in the class, attending all kinds of meetings, helping the school administration, and serving as communication links between the school and the parents. They clean the coffee area of the teachers' room, and set up displays in their classrooms. Such activities not only use up a teacher's time, but drain his or her energy, as well. The resentment expresses itself in private complaints and public arguments over yard duty or other seemingly insignificant matters.

According to the teachers' estimates, 70 percent of the students are one to three years below the norm, below their grade level, in core subjects.

What seems to be needed at Coyote, and what will probably help these children most, is teaching these children sufficient cognitive content (i.e., math, language, social studies, and the natural sciences) to enable them to cope with and survive in the public school, and college if they so choose. The means should be found to make instruction efficient and pleasant both for teachers and the pupils. Very few of these children can or do study at home. Whatever academic substance they learn is at school. And any amount of school time taken away for the extracurricular activities, regardless of their social values, may mean irreparable loss in the future lives of the children. Yet this should not be taken to mean that the children should be strapped to their seats and made to sit in front of a math book all day. What is needed is an integrated, interesting, diversified curriculum that emanates from the needs of the child: the Mexican American child from Hidalgo.

Summary

Chapter IX focused more closely on the organization of school personnel as well as that of the grade levels, the structure and content of the curriculum, teaching methods, and the many educational innovations at Coyote. The chapter also offered a closer examination of such issues as the after lunch rest period, competition and cooperation among staff and students, rules and regulations, differentiation of sex roles, the use of time at the school, and other aspects of the school.

An effort was made to examine how the many innovations operate at the grassroots level, and to find out how and in what ways the innovations (as well as other issues dealt with in the chapter) influenced the students and the staff. An attempt was made to assess the educational product of all the input at the school.

Coyote is a most innovative school. It has a bilingual program, a Hawaii English Program, and a nongraded open-space classroom system for the K-2 grades. These educational practices are especially important and useful for the Chicano children, most of whom come from low-income families and most of whom have problems with language and concept formation with which these innovations mostly deal. Furthermore, the school is in the process of introducing a new individualized math system at all grades. The school is attempting to develop its ESL room and a learning center. The school has increased cooperation and communication among its staff by introducing team and cooperative teaching, forming unit teams, and differentiated staffing. The school has also employed several auxiliary service people. Coyote is doing all this and many more things.

However, there are other areas in which the school does not seem to have done so well. First, not all of the innovations have filtered down to the grassroots level. Some teachers still approach their role with traditional or unsound practices. Second, very little is being done at the school in the area of educating for better and harmonious human relations. In fact, the adults set an undesirable model of human relations for pupils. Along with this undesirable model of human relations goes the promotion of and reliance on competition and rivalry that most teachers engage in rather than cooperation. Third, the school simply reinforces the sexism in society. Fourth, most adults at the school have low expectation and aspiration for the children; some adults appear to consider their students to be basically incapable and inferior to white middle class students. Sixth, most teachers resort to shaming, threats, authoritarianism, creating feelings of guilt and anxiety, and some even resort to corporal punishment.

Seventh, in spite of all the innovations, experimentation, and compensatory education programs, most of the children are not doing very well. According to teacher estimates, about 70 percent of the children are anywhere from one to three years below grade level in the main academic subjects.

Chapter X summarizes the atmosphere and content of the school, its implications, and provides recommendations on where the school might head for the future.

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSIONS, INTERPRETATIONS, AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

This study of Coyote School and its sociocultural context was heavily influenced by a theoretical construct developed by Bernard J. Siegel entitled "Models for the Analysis of the Educative Process in American Communities" (Siegel, 1955). Drawing from Siegel, the study was based upon the following assumptions.

> 1. (There is an educational community which (can be conceived of) as the formal school system--sites and interacting members, stated goals, and the role relations in terms of which the goals are translated into action.) These at least are the primary elements of the system (Siegel, 1955, pp. 38-39).
>
> 2. The school . . . is no isolated organization; its operational structure is continually affected by outside environmental forces. It does not set its own goals, nor can it seek to implement them completely independently of other community agencies. The relationship between the educational community and the community as a whole, however, is reciprocal and interacting (*Ibid*., p. 41).
>
> 3. The flow of what is taught is screened, interpreted, and reinterpreted at several levels as a consequence of the carrying networks of role relationships (*Ibid*., p. 41).
>
> 4. We can, therefore, think of the school system as an organization standing in opposition to other collectivities to which it must adapt, and which, in turn, it seeks to influence (*Ibid*., pp. 41-42).

In the aforementioned article Siegel also elaborates on another theoretical construct which he calls the "Acculturation Model." In this model he treates the interdependence between the school as an educational community and other societal institutions and communities such as teacher training institutions, ethnic groups, social classes, political institutions, the school board, the press, and the PTA. The stress in Siegel's constructs and in this dissertation is on acculturation, cultural confrontation, adaptation, and the structural-functional interdependence between the school and the rest of society.

This theoretical construct enables us to identify and examine the various communities, the educative process, and the interrelationship between them and the salient features thereof. Since the model is based on the concept of acculturation, Siegel suggests certain factors which may affect cultural transmission in the school. In discussing the formal educational institution, he points out that:

> the way in which content is transmitted . . . [from one community to another] is conditioned theoretically by several factors, such as (1) the degree of consistency of the values in each of the subcultures; (2) the extent of agreement of the members of the collectivities on these values; (3) the kind of role relations established between participants in the several subcultures . . .; and (4) the perception of one's own role and of content intended for transmission (Siegel, 1955, p. 42).

Siegel goes on to say that although the school community is made up of individuals from diverse socio-economic and racial backgrounds, such differences are glossed over in the massive educational system in the United States. In this connection, he refers to studies surfacing the implications of public schools for "reinforcing the tendency to freeze the inferior occupational roles of the ethnic and racial groups" (ibid., pp. 34-44). And this assertion is supported by the findings in

Chapter VIII. In another part of the paper, Siegel writes that:

> It becomes abundantly clear that an answer to the question 'How well does the school accomplish its objectives?' depends not only on how well teachers and administrators know these objectives and techniques for achieving them; it also depends upon the dynamic interplay of value systems, interests, and shared self-concepts in contact among the several collectivities involved in the formal transmission process (Siegel, 1955, p. 44).

Siegel's "Channels' Model" also treats the complexities of cultural transmission. It deals with the issue of "How educational packages get into the child and why?" He argues that "Many things can happen to the content of what is transmitted in any channel as it passes from one section to another on its way to the child. The 'gates' are opened by one or more 'gatekeepers.'" (Siegel, 1955, p. 47) Siegel states that:

> In brief, forms of understanding, their content, and order of presentation, are blocked, truncated, or expanded, according to changing interpretations at each gate of the channel sections. Most gates require keys . . . they consist of cultural perception (viz., terms in which people think about education), values (motivations to acquire, subvert, emphasize, or underplay cultural items), and personality dispositions to behavior (ibid., p. 48).

Thus, we can analyze Coyote Elementary School as an institution. It has its own structure, functions, goals, norms, sanctions, rewards, status-role system, communication patterns, and its own boundaries which in many respects set it apart from Hidalgo and the American sociocultural system at large. The school does exercise some influence on its own operation. However, Coyote School is by no means an autonomous institution. It has interlocking structural-functional interrelationships with the Hidalgo community and with the larger American sociocultural system. The school reflects Hidalgo, the American society and culture, and its own culture, while at the same time it influences the American society and culture and that of Hidalgo; the school-society boundary, therefore, is not impenetrable.

And the influence is reciprocal. The school mirrors the poverty, disease, conflict, and cultural malnutrition (that is, by the standards of the mainstream culture) of Hidalgo. Hidalgo itself, in turn, illustrates the Other America with all of its ramifications, an America possibly conflicting with its ideal self. So the school becomes a meeting ground for the mainstream culture, the Mexican American subculture, and the school's own culture. The question is how the school deals with and reconciles these three-pronged demands.

Coyote School functions as what R. and E. H. Hunt (Middleton, 1970) call an "interface institution" in regard to Mexican American children and other cultural immigrants. The American sociocultural system has charged Coyote with preparing Chicano children for membership in the American sociocultural system. Coyote's function is to acculturate Chicano children. The American sociocultural system is based, theoretically, at least, on egalitarianism, equality of opportunity, human and individual dignity, and so on. And so it is into this that the Mexican Americans (in this case) are supposed to be acculturated. But, at the actual operational level of the school, we saw many gaps between such ideals and what actually happened. The outcome of this disparity between the ideal and the manifest has been damaging to the Chicanos in Hidalgo; most of them have not become successful members of the mainstream society.

Is there a school-society conspiracy against Chicanos? Is it the poor state of the art of education, or the poor state of the school as an institution? Are Chicanos an inferior group of people? Is the school modifying society's noble goals for Mexican Americans, thereby biasing the cultural transmission? In Chapters I through IX we presented some factual data which shed some light on these and many other crucial questions. Obviously, and hopefully, more people will need to pursue studies emanating from this one. Subjects needing further investigation will be indicated later in the chapter. Below is a brief attempt, however incomplete, to offer interpretation and underlying meanings for the data presented earlier.

Hidalgo township and Coyote School are unique but not uncommon. As the reader well knows, there are many similar cases throughout the United States. Hidalgo's men, women, and children are submerged in extreme poverty, disease, malnutrition, social disorganization, and social, psychological, and geographic isolation. Unemployment reads as high as 21 percent and those who do hold steady jobs are mostly engaged in lower-level blue-collar occupations. A very high percentage, 76 percent, of the people receive some form of welfare aid (see Chapter III).

The town does not offer many job opportunities of any kind. Whatever white-collar or professional blue-collar jobs that are available, however, are occupied mostly by outsiders and Anglos. Coyote School, the day care center, CSO, the Clinic, and even the churches are staffed mostly by nonresidents. Although these people may be credited with the best of intentions, this state of affairs has had several deleterious effects. One consequence has been that Hidalgo's people have little or no control over the role, function, and operation of these institutions. And this, in turn, has meant two things. (A) The services delivered may not always correspond to the people's needs and interests at the grassroots level. (B) The institutions do not enjoy the full support of their client population. In fact, the very existence of some of these agencies has factionalized the community to the point where intergroup conflict has, in some areas, led to the defeat of the agencies' goals and efforts (see Chapter IV).

Second, the existing employment situation and occupational structure are hardly conducive to providing appropriate role models for Hidalgo's children. As it is, the children are exposed mostly to inhibitive role models only. There is insufficient tangible reason, incentive, and inspiration for them to strive; for the children do not have any relatives or friends who hold white-collar or professional blue-collar jobs.

And third, the mere persistence of these outside helpers in service organizations has actually decreased employment possibilities, and therefore economic pay-offs for the Mexican Americans of Hidalgo.

There is no doubt that many of the outsiders (Anglos) working in Hidalgo are very competent, dedicated, well-meaning, and hard-working. But it is doubtful whether good will, competency, and dedication to the job alone are sufficient. Coyote School is attempting to implement all kinds of educational innovations such as individualized instruction, differentiated staffing, team teaching, bilingual education, the Hawaii English Program, Title I, and so on. The staff appears busy all day long (at least between 9 a.m. and 3 p.m.). There is a great flurry of activity. One does not observe the apathy, dull routines, and sterility which have been shown[1] to characterize many other schools. There are many strategy, planning, and improvement committees and meetings. And all this and many more activities are a credit to the school (see Chapters V and IX).

But once one studies the school more deeply, the efforts and experimentations will be seen to have produced little success, when success is measured by the students' performance or enabling the low-status Hidalgans to succeed and to achieve equal status in this country. For example, we saw that about 70 percent of the pupils were below grade level. It was also discovered that Hidalgo has produced only one college graduate. We know that no Hidalgan has a white-collar or prestigious job. Why is the school in spite of its innovations, elaborate educational technology, and compensatory programs, failing its pupils? Are the services reaching the children? What ought the school be doing that it is not? Part of the failure may be due to the poor state of the art in education. And part of the problem may be attributed to adult attitudes and the way the school is managed. This latter part will be discussed below, beginning with what is and what it means.

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[1] See The High School; Herbert Kohl, 36 Children, etc.

It was discovered that teachers extend differential treatment to the various categories of students (i.e., Anglo boys, Anglo girls, Chicano boys, and Chicano girls) in the classroom. Generally speaking, teacher interaction was highest with Anglo boys, second highest for Anglo girls, third highest for Chicano boys, and lowest for Chicano girls. In almost all of the seven interaction categories of reward, punishment, control and management, academic-prestigious tasks, non-academic-non-prestigious tasks, non-task academic, and non-task-non-academic interaction (see Chapter VIII) this was found to be the case.

What this means, among other things, is that teachers did not distribute tasks, opportunities, resources, rewards, and/or communication to their pupils on an equal basis, without regard to different statuses in the classroom. The ramification would seem to be that even if society and the educational establishment are actively and genuinely committed to equal educational opportunity for all, at Coyote at least, the school, unwittingly or not, undermines itself. As asserted by Rist (1970), it is perpetuating the system of failure, and preparing these children for the bottom roles in other institutions and society at large. It is far from being the great equalizer (see pages 205-206).

Siegel (1955) in his discussion of cultural transmission in the school and the issue of "how educational packages get into the child and why?" points out that "Many things can happen to the content of what is transmitted in any channel as it passes from one section to another on its way to the child. The 'gates' are opened by one or more 'gatekeepers'" (Siegel, 1955, p. 47). In this case, the gatekeepers are the individual teachers in the classrooms who control and direct classroom interactional processes (see Chapter VIII).

The question is why is this so? Does this mean that teachers are racists, chauvinists, and discriminatory? Is there a teacher conspiracy against their Chicano and/or female pupils? Hopefully, the answer is "No" to all three alternatives. Several possible explanations may exist for this differential treatment in the classroom. First, it may be due to sheer lack of thought and carelessness on the part of the teachers. Teachers perceive themselves as fair, well-meaning, and objective, and may just fail to consider the subtleties of the problem seriously, or the consequences of their behavior in the class. Their behavior in the classroom is inconsistent with their professed educational-humanitarian goals and philosophy. Teachers may simply not be aware of the gaps between their ideologies and manifest behavior in the classroom, and how their behavior affects the children.

Second, teachers are a product of the American sociocultural system and its myriad institutions. Racism, discrimination, and stereotyping are facts of life and therefore frequently unquestioned facets of a teacher's behavior. Coyote School teachers are from this sociocultural system. They were born, raised, schooled, and educated in schools with much the same practices. They have picked up the attitudes of the society, attitudes strongly skeptical of non-Caucasians. And since most of the faculty personnel in Coyote are Anglo, they probably have not experienced first-hand the impact these manifest attitudes or behavior have on people. They have been sheltered from the rest of America.

These attitudes become a bit more conscious now that the minorities are asserting themselves as equals. Consequently, even though teachers may try to conceal them, their conflicting feelings may manifest themselves in their classroom behavior and in unconscious ways.

Third, teachers may simply exhibit "normal" behavior in the classroom. Teachers, like most people in group situations, develop likes and dislikes. They interact more with those students who are bright, witty, outgoing, friendly, and so on. Teachers give more opportunities to these kinds of students because they stand out and because they reciprocate. Teachers find more in common with these students. And on the contrary, teachers may interact less with those students appearing dull, withdrawn, unfriendly, and difficult (see Rist, 1970). It may just be a question of "human nature" and group dynamics. But since teachers are entrusted with the job of equalizing opportunities for all, they are expected to be fair and nondiscriminatory.

The third aspect of the study dealt with adult attitudes toward and expectations for their low-income and low-status pupils at Coyote. It was discovered that adults have low expectations for their pupils. They expected the children to get low-level blue-collar jobs such as janitors, housewives, clerks, and some to get to be school teachers. Adults backed their low expectations for the children with such rationalizations as "they are not very intelligent," "it takes a lot of education," "these kids don't study," and "these kids have so many odds against them."

Responses to questions dealing with adult expectations and attitudes toward their low-income, low-status Chicano pupils varied. Some adults would not commit themselves to any occupations or education for the children. Such neutral stands may be interpreted as caution about interpretation or as not really caring for what happened to their students in the future. It may be an attempt on the part of some to disassociate themselves from future culpability or accountability. But some adults did aspire something for these youngsters, and it was a high school education, vocational training, and/or low-level, blue-collar occupations.

The fourth component of the study dealt with adult attitudes toward their students at Coyote vis-à-vis children from upper income Anglo neighborhoods. Adults compared Hidalgo's children unfavorably with children from the upper middle class areas of X and Y. Hidalgo children were considered inferior in 16 of the 19 characteristics (see page 222).

The following interpretations may be derived from the previous paragraphs. Education and schooling are goal-oriented processes; their function is cultural transmission. The school, teachers, and staff are agents of cultural transmission to the young and to the minority children. School personnel (educators) are given the task of socializing the young for membership in society and preparing them for happy, meaningful, and creative living. And teachers are expected and supposed to carry out the task of education effectively and fairly. But at

Coyote this cultural transmission appears to be partial and biased in some respects. Adults are transmitting low expectations and aspirations to their low-status Chicano students. Most adults do not consider these students as capable of achieving parity with white middle class children. The school, rather than being the great equalizer and instrument of social justice, may, in fact, be instrumental in preserving the status quo. The school is freezing, perhaps unintentionally, the existing social structure and appears to be keeping the various ethnic groups and social strata in their places (see pp. 197-220; and Rist, 1970).

The conditions described may generate a self-fulfilling prophecy. Students (and people in general) perform and achieve as teachers (and others) expect them to. A corollary is "the ideology of failure" that results when adults do not believe or expect that their low-status Chicano students will succeed in the American society, and at the same time the children themselves do not know many role models who have in fact "made it." In this situation, adult feelings and attitudes are likely to be communicated to the children and reinforce these feelings.

Three points need to be made, however, in regard to these adult attitudes toward Mexican American children at Coyote. First, adult expectations for the children are only one of the many factors which may or may not determine their future occupational-educational lives. This is so because, on the one hand, the self-fulfilling prophecy may not be as singly important as it has been held to be; some researchers have raised serious questions about the validity of the concept. And, on the other hand, individual human beings are not simply fluid bodies which mould into others' expectations automatically.

Second, it is not so much the low level of expectations, aspirations, and unfavorable opinions that Coyote adults hold for their Chicano students. But it is their _a priori_ nature, the prematurity and superficiality of adult judgment which is questionable. Although, as was stated in Chapter VIII, there may be some basis for adult attitudes, these attitudes are mostly the result of stereotypes; stereotypes which, by their existence as attitudes, do not allow adults to give these children their fair chance to prove themselves. In addition to that, what matters is not so much the low adult expectations and opinions concerning the children per se, but their implication for adult-child transaction and the way this may affect adult attitudes and approach toward teaching. It is quite possible that the existing adult attitudes toward children may jeopardize their teaching without their knowing it, and thus the children's learning. For example, if the teacher is convinced that the children have so many odds against them that they could not succeed in any case (a product of the stereotype), he or she may take his/her duties less seriously and concentrate heavily on something like audiovisual aids or music, something the teacher likes, and that will keep the children occupied. The thought there would be, "After all, if and since the students don't learn anything else, at least they'll enjoy the movie." But a product of this is that the academic subjects are slighted, so the students are indeed less likely to get anywhere, being then unprepared to meet even junior high school standards.

Third, in all fairness, the school (Coyote and other schools in minority neighborhoods) seems to be in a dilemma. If the school tries hard and in good faith to be too successful vis-à-vis Mexican American children, in preparing them for success in the mainstream society, then it runs the risk of being accused of "cultural imperialism." On the other hand, if the school fails for one reason or another to enable Mexican Americans to achieve success in the American society, it may be, and is accused of being, racist as well as being a socializing agency for maintaining the status quo. The investigator has attempted to deal with these dichotomous issues and demands on Coyote in analyzing the functioning of the school. The main thrust has been that if the community really has input into the school, and the school really reflected the desired goals, interests, and feelings of the community, then there would be no basis on which to criticize the school, for it would be serving both the American society at large and the individual community no matter which road it took. The study reveals, on the one hand, that Hidalgo's adults and children would like to preserve some cherished elements of the Mexican cultural heritage; while, on the other hand, they would like the school(s) to prepare Chicano children for successful adjustment to the mainstream culture and for achieving equal status to that of white middle class Americans. The investigator admits, however, that these contradictory demands and issues are difficult to resolve or to reconcile. And the question of whether the school can serve all the contradictory demands and goals of the mainstream culture, the Mexican American subculture, and that of its own, has not been answered.

The underlying question is, are these demands truly contradictory? How can the school resolve these differences? Further answers to these and other questions are left to the reader's judgment.

The fifth aspect of this investigation dealt with professional/human relations at the school. At first glance, on the surface, interpersonal relations at Coyote appeared cordial and smooth. People smiled at each other, said hello to each other, and cooperated with one another on school-related matters most of the time. "Open meetings" were held and decisions were arrived at "democratically." There were no open conflicts among school adults. People appeared very receptive and open to innovative educational ideas and practices. And, by and large, relationships were conducted on an egalitarian basis with no pronounced stratification.

However, once you scratch the surface and study the interpersonal relations more deeply, you discover that there is more to be seen. Professional/human relationships were marred with the following problems. The decision-making processes were not conducted by democratic procedure; the principal and a few other individuals used a great deal of anonymous (implicit or covert) authority. Although there was the appearance of democracy, decisions were mostly based on this indirect use of power. Teachers and aides were made to feel as if their voices would be counted, but in actuality their views, interests, and concerns were rarely tapped and meant very little.

Relationships among school personnel were stratified, bureaucratized, and somewhat factionalized. There was a clear status hierarchy with various individuals and/or groups occupying different ranks. Although the people with higher status, such as the principal, some of the consultants, and others paid lip service to egalitarianism and openness, in actuality such was not the case. The principal and his clique clearly dominated decision-making on all major issues. And there were those like the aides and/or some of the teachers who were clearly at the bottom of this status system.

Needless to say, the students were the outcasts as far as their status went. Although the students are a clear majority in the school, and they constitute the main element in the educational enterprise, they were never consulted by the adults. Students were treated as simple objects on which the adults operated.

Aside from the basic status system of the school, there were the cliques based on scheduling, the organization of work, and/or personal friendships. Individuals and groups were ins or outs depending on who you were with. People socialized with each other on a very limited and selective basis. It can be concluded that the school, far from being a model of democracy and a harmonious working institution, resembled an authoritarian structure which was beset by many quiet upheavals.

Furthermore, faculty/staff relations were also characterized by conflict, competition, and some rivalries. People competed for positions close to the power center (the principal and his associates); they competed for equipment; they competed for students' preference and admiration; they competed for distinction; they competed for whatever rewards the system offered; and sometimes they competed for avoiding doing certain tasks. Although there was some cooperation, and more existed among some people than others, there were many instances of non-cooperation. This led to conflict and occasional rivalries and flare-ups. The leadership did not always intervene to solve such problems. In fact, it was perceived by many as part of the problem. As long as interpersonal conflicts did not totally disrupt the school functioning, and as long as they did not present a clear threat to the power structure, they were ignored or left alone. Thus, some people complained about the principal not facing problems and leaving issues unresolved.

Interpersonal relations were also colored by jealousies, gossip, and rumors. People shared and spread gossip about those colleagues they did not like. Rather than helping each other out, they engaged in back-stabbing. People told on each other's teaching, relations with students, and even personal lives. This seemed to be one reason why teachers were mostly very secretive about their teaching methods. Although they appeared friendly toward each other, when in each other's company, such was not the case when the parties were not in each other's presence.

The sixth research problem dealt with the status of Mexican American culture at the school. Coyote School is by far more pluralistic than any school the investigator knows about. Spanish is used and spoken in and outside of the classrooms. There is a fairly effective bilingual instruction program at the kindergarten-first grade level. And most adults know and use Spanish at school quite often. It must be pointed out, however, that the overall and ultimate goal in the school, as well as in the community, is to make these Chicano pupils proficient in English. And so Spanish necessarily must take a second place to that.

Along similar lines, most teachers incorporated into their teaching some units or materials on Mexico, Mexicans, and/or Mexican Americans. The observer noticed a few posters, pictures, and other artifacts on Mexico and Mexican Americans throughout the school. Some school personnel wore Mexican clothes occasionally. And there were instances where teachers used Mexican music and audiovisual materials.

On the other hand, the school library, the curriculum, and the text materials made very few provisions for including materials on Mexican Americans. This may be interpreted as follows. The larger American sociocultural system has commissioned the school to assimilate the Mexican American minority into the predominant Anglo culture: the function of the school from the mainstream society's point of view is to erase the Mexican cultural traces from the children and integrate them into the wider sociocultural system. But the school personnel seem to interject their own influence, modify societal goals for schooling the minority, and make the school community more pluralistic.

The seventh aspect of the study dealt with the school-community relations. Considering the factionalism of Hidalgo, and the fact that this factionalism is reflected among its school children, the school has a very tight rope to walk on. And the school is trying hard to maintain good working relationships with the community and its many subdivisions. By and large, too, the school has been very successful in this regard. The school allows its facilities to be used by any and all factions or groups. School personnel try to participate in activities and functions held in town on a nonpartisan basis. And the school extends its help to the entire community. On several occasions the school tried to serve as mediator between the different factions and unite them against common community problems. There has been partial success in this regard.

On the community's side, most people, regardless of their reference group, respect the school for its neutrality and what it is doing for their children. In fact, many people would like the school to stay neutral and not take sides, even if taking sides would be for the common good. Most people believe that the school has been doing an excellent job, since the new principal took over three years ago. The community feels very friendly and appreciative toward school staff.

The school has opened its doors to the community. It has employed about ten local individuals. It has attracted quite a few volunteers from the community. And several parents come to visit the school every day. The principal, the school-community liaison, and a few other school people hold what they call "koffee klatches" with different groups once a month. The school scheduled two official parent-teacher conferences throughout the year. And the school observed a "mother-daughter day" and a "father-son day," for the first time in the school's history.

It can be said that the official school policy is to remain neutral and help all. There are also many efforts at the official level to bring the school and the community closer together. However, on individual and spontaneous bases, there is inadequate involvement by the school employees in the life and affairs of the community. School employees offer personal and political reasons for this lack of involvement.

The eighth aspect of the study dealt with student attitudes toward the school and the teachers. An overwhelming majority of Hidalgo's children are beginning to enjoy and like the school. The children say they like the school because there are playgrounds, friends, playthings, and other things to have fun with. They also enjoy the audiovisual aids used by the teachers. They like preparing for and taking part in celebrating the various holidays and fiestas. The children like most of the adults and the way the adults treat them. Surprisingly to the investigator, many children like the food at the school, too. This may be the case because many children do not eat good food at home, which is why they are on free lunch and free breakfast programs, and any food is better than no food at all.

But the students do have definite dislikes about certain subjects or the academic aspect of the school in general. Students also have specific dislikes about certain adults in the school because, according to the children, they "yell" at them or hit them; "they are mean," "ugly," or they do not help them much.

Educational Policy Recommendations

Based on the investigator's one year involvement in Hidalgo and with Coyote, and the findings herein, the following recommendations are made. With regard to these recommendations, it should be noted, first, that the order in which they are presented does not necessarily represent any intended priority. And second, that very few of the recommendations pertain to the situation in Hidalgo itself. Reforms within the community depend on other agencies and organizations which are beyond our scope here; and recommendations for change in that area would require a more in-depth study of city planning and maintenance. The recommendations presented below are limited to the school and what it can and should do.

1. A new selection and deselection system of the instructional, administrative, and auxiliary staff needs to be implemented. This must be done with the consent and advice of the entire staff. Everyone's role and performance should be reevaluated in the light of the particularities of population and the goals of Coyote and Hidalgo. The following criteria, which it is suggested the new personnel must meet, are considered critical for this school to meet its goals--enabling the children to succeed in this society. They should exhibit commitment and dedication to improving the status of low-income/low-status children. They must, therefore, be willing to conceive of their job as not just limited to the official time and job description. The must be willing to get involved in the community and spend considerable time and energy serving the community. In addition to that they must be free of

ethnocentrism, prejudices, and so on, and aspire to do and get the best for these children, to fit their needs; which in turn requires them to understand what the children's needs are. They should recognize, respect, and nourish cultural pluralism in the school, as well as in the sociocultural system at large. And to do that, the staff should have training and direct experience in English as a Second Language, Mexican American culture, Spanish, and working with low-income/low-status children as prerequisites for their positions. They must have training in and appreciation for the interdependence of culture and personality, cultural relativism, school and society; they should have courses in education and anthropology. Coyote needs the kind of staff who are enthusiastic, inspiring, and highly motivated; it needs people who can appreciate the problems of Hidalgo and its children and who are willing to work hard on solving these problems; it needs people who hold high expectations and aspirations for these children and who can transfer these to the children. Expecting to find people who would meet all these qualifications is unrealistic. But every effort must be made to find and train people who would approximate the ideal type.

In short, in the case of Coyote's staff, professional competency alone is not sufficient. Its staff must also meet many situationally desirable and much needed personality criteria. There is need for the kind of staff who can inspire Hidalgo's children. And there is need for a staff who could then help these children achieve success and equality. Not only that, but the staff must be willing to reach the community as well. The staff should have training in community work and organization.

2. The school must do its best to recruit people from Hidalgo. If no qualified people are available, the school must spend part of its funds (e.g., Title I, which provides for this in its laws) to train the local people for employment at the school. Even in this case, preference should be given to Mexican Americans, as they are in the majority in the community. The school should exhaust all possible human and material resources in the community before going outside of it. And other efforts to get community input into the school, such as feelings about school priorities and programs or personnel, should be expanded.

3. Continuous in-service training should be conducted for all faculty and staff. However, this in-service education must not be of the traditional lecture type. New, imaginative, and effective in-service education is needed. The entire school personnel must be involved in the conception, planning, implementation, and evaluation of in-service activities. Such training should be geared toward the felt needs of individuals and/or various groups. The school must be willing to invest time and money in in-service activities, rather than leaving them to chance and such scheduling as 8:30-9:00 a.m., after 3:00 p.m., or on weekends. Everyone in the school from the principal to the aides must go through the appropriate in-service training. In-service should not just be information giving, but problem-oriented and at the school level. And the in-service activities need to have follow-up or follow-through, to ensure its application and understanding at the grassroots. In order to be effective, in-service education must generate from,

focus upon, and end up at the school, rather than being superimposed upon it by the district, the principal, or other outside teaching elements.

4. The school itself has many highly dedicated and qualified people. Their resources and services should be utilized fully before the school resorts to the use of outside consultants. The school should encourage, facilitate, and adopt peer teaching, peer evaluation, and peer feedback, and other supportive collegial functions (negative evaluation can be both supportively given and constructive if presented that way, cf. Molnar, 1972). School personnel could be paid extra to encourage this role, when warranted. This will achieve the following goals. It will provide: the necessary incentives to focus education on the children, peer recognition of individual and group contribution, mobility within the school and the teaching profession, and the necessary professional development and support for all. (It may also save the school some money.) Its aim, however, will be to promote better professional and human relationships at the school, and increase the sense of participation and impact on the school among teachers. It will combat whatever latent resistence and hostility harbored against "foreign consultants." It will make in-service and innovations realistic, down to earth, and effective. And finally, it will hopefully minimize the misunderstandings, distrust, rumor-mongering, rivalries, and secretiveness among the staff and faculty. Inherent in a collegially supportive system, the aim here is a basis of mutual respect for competence and dedication (see Molnar, 1971).

5. Outside consultants should be hired only when it is absolutely necessary, i.e., when there is a felt need at the teacher level, or such a need can be shown. Even then, they should be hired on a contractual and temporary basis. It must not be institutionalized. Consultants should be hired for specific needs and periods of time. They must be required to meet those needs, train school employees to do so, and phase themselves out in a fairly short period. The consultants should be Mexican Americans, or people who specialize in Mexican Americans and who know and care about Hidalgo. Their services should be made known to the school. And there should be a continuous exchange of feedback and ideas between school personnel and the consultants.

6. Cultural therapy must become an integral part of in-service education at Coyote. Its purpose would be to sensitize the school's employees to cultural differences, their own biases and ethnocentrism; the program, based on specific case materials and expert observations, should help the employees overcome these problems (note that the existence of their commitment and input into these efforts are an integral part of the program, if it is going to work). This training should be complemented by sensitivity sessions and other group process facilitation and intercultural communication work.

7. The school should be made truly bilingual-bicultural in every respect. The entire staff should be able to operate in both English and Spanish. They should use both or either of the two languages as the situation requires. Spanish and the Mexican culture should be

treated as existing entities with intrinsic worth of their own. Assimilation into Anglo middle class sociocultural system should be done with full and expressed recognition of the worth of the subculture and the benefits of pluralism. The instructional process, the text materials, the school library, the curriculum content, the school plant, the food, and the other items that are the school's props, must reflect more than token lip service to the Mexican culture; they must provide for growth and change within that culture.

8. The school must look hard and long at its testing programs. Tests not developed in Spanish and/or with the Mexican American subculture in mind, and especially those administered en masse, could be considered largely invalid and unreliable as far as Coyote's children go. Their administration is a waste of everybody's valuable time, and the resultant labeling based on the test scores is damaging to the children.

9. Tied to recommendation 8, above, the school also needs to develop a new system of evaluating the students. Traditional tests and letter grades should be abandoned. The concept of "failure" should be discarded. Teachers must diagnose individual students and give them appropriate and needed feedback. This nongraded system is already in use by many schools, and in at least one program, kindergarten-second grade, in Coyote, and it would seem to be appropriate for the whole school.

10. The school must stop labeling students this or that. Labeling students as "fast," "medium," "slow," "hyperactive,"

"educationally handicapped," "educable mentally retarded," and so on may stigmatize children and may damage them psychologically for the rest of their lives. There is also serious question about the valid and reliability of the instruments used in diagnosing these children

11. The school should be turned into a community center. T district and the school should hire someone who can keep the school open until late in the evening for Hidalgo's youth. Several classro should be kept open. These rooms should have televisions, radios, record players, and provision for light indoor sports--such as ping pong. There should be rooms where students can do their homework an study, and have discussions. The school facilities are there, and t community does not have anyplace for children and youth. The school plant should be used to the maximum. One adult can supervise all of these open rooms after school hours. All of the adult education can also be conducted at the school, with a cooperative baby-sitting arrangement by one of the teenagers also at the school. And the commu could suggest other activities it would find useful. Community memb interviewed had several ideas.

12. By and large, Hidalgo's children cannot and do not stud once they leave school. They do not have adequate facilities at hom and most cannot get the help they need. And this may contribute to holding them back from good school performance. It is suggested tha the regular school day be extended by an hour at least for a study h and tutoring center. The school district should experiment with yea round school for this particular community, also. But it is recogni

that such extensions will, of course, only be useful if and when the quality of instruction is markedly improved; and when the school staff/faculty receive extra remuneration and other rewards for their efforts.

13. The school should begin using a more integrated approach to teaching the various subjects. For example, English should be taught as one comprehensive area in lieu of the present, fragmented form of breaking it into spelling, reading, speech, language arts, handwriting, etc. (cf. Fader, Hooked on Books, 1968). Such an integrated approach is already used in social studies.

14. The school should carry out a thorough study of its entire staff and of its staffing pattern. One of the most urgent needs is to put more adults in the classes and lower the student-teacher ratio. These children require and demand a great deal of individualized help. Fancy equipment, "educational toys," new programs, grouping, and individualized instruction are largely ineffective unless and until someone can sit down with, explain, and give directions to these children who have serious language and academic handicaps--that is, by present public school standards. It is suggested that the school cut down on spending money on consultants and educational hardware which may be largely redundant with resources that already exist in the school and with each other (i.e., maybe two consultants could do the job that seven are doing now part time). The school should hire more full-time community instructional aides, train them, and assign them to classrooms.

15. The school should serve free and adequate breakfasts and

lunches to any child who needs them. In the investigator's opinion, the present food is inadequate in quality and quantity. The district rarely serves Mexican food, and even then it is a diluted form of it. Better and more authentic Mexican food should be served.

16. The school should hire a few paraprofessionals who would take care of yard duty, supervision of lunch, recesses, clerical chores, attendance reports, and other menial tasks which take up a great deal of the teacher's time and energy. The school should be able to find volunteers for such activities. If not, there are people in the community, or teenagers from the high schools, for some of the chores, who could very well do such things. This would free teachers to prepare, study, discuss or attend important affairs, including in-service programs.

17. The content of the school curricula should be made more relevant to the lives and aspirations of these Mexican American children. There should be extensive coverage of the Mexican American history, culture, sociology, anthropology, and psychology. These children must learn about their historical roots and significance. They should be helped to analyze the current socioeconomic and political status of the Mexican Americans in the United States and the reasons for them; and they should be helped to determine effective solutions to their problems and effective "survival techniques" to enable them to achieve equal status in this country as individuals and as a group. There should be much more use of Spanish and/or Mexican American music, dances, art, and culture. This will give the children the necessary pride and ethnic identity. This means education for self and social awareness.

18. The Parent Advisory Committee (P.A.C.) should be given greater power (which involves among other things greater information) about school affairs. The district and the school should provide all the necessary information about the many aspects of compensatory programs to the P.A.C. The school should also conduct briefings on the school, its funding, and so on. And the school should teach the P.A.C. about what kinds of actions it could take and the workings of the school and the district. In short, the school should move in the direction of community control, by starting with giving the community some impact on the school.

19. The school should take active steps the raise the educational-occupational aspiration level of its students to a considerable extent. This goal can be accomplished through several means. The school should employ local people whenever this is possible. If there are no qualified persons, the school should train them. The school should involve the parents in the school as volunteers, resource people, teaching aides, and what not. The school should invite accomplished Mexican Americans of all types of employment to mingle with the children, tell them stories, and talk to them about their lives and personal accomplishments. The school should urge its employees to discuss education, occupations, future and other related issues with the children, and give them encouragement and support. The school should adopt the work already done on expectation training (Cohen, 1970) by the Stanford School of Education for use in helping the teachers deal with the children. And finally, the school organization and operation must put

Mexican Americans in top, responsible positions so that the children can look up to them as role models, so that emulation is possible.

20. The school must incorporate into its activities education for harmonious, interpersonal and intergroup relations. There should be audiovisual materials, group work, discussions, and living experiences in humanistic education. Children should be taught about the reality and legitimacy of ethnic differences. And they should be taught how to live with Anglos, Chicanos, Chinese, Blacks, and the rest of mankind; how to live with themselves. There should be extensive visitation, exchanges, activities, and family stay opportunities between the various ethnic groups.

21. The school should try to provide the leadership for bringing the various factions and community agencies together. This can be done through arranging for community-wide activities at the school, solving real common problems in the town, lectures, and discussions about what is going on, and so on. The school should help organize and mobilize the community to obtain its rights and solve its many problems.

In conclusion, education is only the image and reflection of society, and the school a microcosm of the American sociocultural system. The school is characterized by problems, values, norms, behavior patterns, and forms of interethnic relations which exist in the society at large. School and society are interdependent on each other, functionally and structurally. To comprehend the school without looking at its context is hard. And to expect to change the school without changing the sociocultural system seems both absurd and impossible. It is suggested, therefore, that we work on school-society changes in three domains simultaneously. First, the compensatory educational programs for the culturally different and low-income children should be expanded and augmented. But as research indicates, compensatory programs cannot and are not to be expected to solve all educational problems, because they are partial solutions to symptoms of underlying sociocultural problems.

Second, we should undertake institutional changes such as improving teacher training and the curriculum, and reorganizing staffing patterns in schools. Such changes may not solve all the problems, either, since they do not attack the antecedents of the problems.

Third, and most important, we must work on changing people's attitudes, values, and on creating a more humane society. This level of change includes changing societal assumptions about the structure, function, and control of the educative process. It also means changing educators' attitudes toward themselves, their role and functions in school, and their attitudes toward their minority students and their culture. Furthermore, it means eliminating the attitudinal sources of racism, ethnocentrism, injustice, poverty, and exploitation. In short, our ultimate goal must be to create the "new man" and reconstruct society. Short of that, no solution, educational or otherwise, will solve our problems completely.

Several topics emerge from this study as needing further investigation. First would be experimentation and evaluation in making schools bicultural and/or multicultural, as needed. Although this is going on presently on a small scale, this needs to be studied in depth and reported out. Second would be maximizing community involvement in the schools, especially in low-income, low-status areas. This too has been tried in isolated cases, such as in Oceanhill-Brownsville in New York City, but the results have been drowned in a sea of politics. A third area requiring further study would deal with sociometric studies of interracial relations among pupils in elementary schools. This would have implications for desegregation and interethnic, human relations target areas. The fourth area should zero in on staff educational and occupational aspirations in white middle class schools for white middle class pupils, for both boys and girls separately. And then investigate expectations and aspirations among these boys and girls, separately. It would be interesting to see how those results compare with the results reported here. Fifth, studies are needed on tests and testing Mexican American students in an effort to create new, valid, and reliable diagnostic tests for this subgroup. Sixth, there should be studies concerning further work on alternative staffing patterns and the use of paraprofessionals. And seventh, it would be interesting to replicate one aspect of this study, the teacher-pupils transaction in the classroom, in white, middle class schools and compare the results of that study with the results obtained and reported here.

It would not be fair to say that investigations in the areas indicated above are not going on. The investigator knows of some studies done, being done, and planned in many of the more general areas. But efforts need to be made to expand such studies and get the results of these into the schools, and to operationalize on their basis.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

OBSERVATION SCORING SHEET
TEACHER-PUPIL TRANSACTION IN THE CLASSROOM

Date: __________ Grade __________ Sec.: __________ Teacher __________ Teacher's Sex __________ Teacher's Ethnicity __________

Period of Observation __________

				Tasks		(Other)	
	REWARD	PUNISHMENT	CONTROL & MANAGEMENT	ACADEMIC-PRESTIGIOUS	NON-ACADEMIC NON-PRESTIGIOUS	NON-TASK INTERACTION	
						ACADEMIC	NON-ACADEMIC
Mexican Americans							
Boys							
Girls							
Anglos							
Boys							
Girls							

APPENDIX B

OBSERVATION SCORING SHEET
TRANSACTION IN THE P.T.A. AND P.A.C. MEETINGS

Date ______________ Place ___________________ Duration _________________

Medium number of participants: Mex. Ams. ______; Anglo ________; Other ____

Communication initiated by Mexican Americans	
Communication received by Mexican Americans	
Communication initiated by Anglos	
Communication received by Anglos	

APPENDIX C

OBSERVATION SCORING SHEET
TRANSACTION IN THE STAFF MEETINGS

Date __________ Place ________________ Number of Participants __________

Approximate no. of Mex. Ams _________ Anglos ________ and Others _________

Communication initiated by principal	
Communication received by principal	
Communication initiated by Mexican American personnel	
Communication received by Mexican American personnel	
Communication initiated by Anglo personnel	
Communication received by Anglo personnel	
Communication initiated by others	
Communication received by others	

APPENDIX D

FACULTY/STAFF QUESTIONNAIRE

A. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Age _____ 2. Sex _____ 3. Birthplace ______________________________
(State and/or country)

4. Ethnic background: ______________________________

5. Father's education: ____years; his occupation: ____________________

6. Mother's education: ____years; her occupation: ____________________

7. Spouse's education: ____years; his/her occupation: ________________

B. EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCES

8. Total years of schooling ______________

9. College and/or University attended ______________________________

10. Major in college: ____________________ Minor: ____________________

C. PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCES

11. Number of courses taken which relate specifically to your working/teaching position in communities like Hidalgo. For example, courses related to the low-income Mexican Americans, and/or minority education in general.

____

12. Pre-service experience which is relevant to your present teaching/working position in this community. For example, previous experience with Mexican Americans in particular or low-income and/or other minority groups. ______________________________

____

____

____

____

13. Have you had any in-service training related to Mexican American, minority or underprivileged Anglo education in particular? __________
If yes, where, what, and how long?

____

____

____

____

14. Depending on whether you are a Mexican American, an Anglo, or from another ethnoracial background, have you ever lived with an Anglo or a Mexican (the other ethnic origined family)? __________. If "yes," for how long and with what purposes?

____

____

____

____

____

15. What languages other than English do you know? Please rate your knowledge.

Language	Good speaking & reading	Fair speaking & reading	Poor speaking & reading

My position at Coyote School is ____________________

16. How long have you been teaching/working at Coyote? __________

17. Other teaching/working positions prior to Hidalgo:

____

____

____

____

18. How many hours per week do you read professional educational literature, if any?__________

D. OPINIONNAIRE

20. In your opinion, and according to your own educational philosophy, how would you rank order the following major (educational) goals for the pupils at Coyote School? Please number from 1 to 13.

_____ The fine arts

_____ Morals, ethics, and religion

_____ Assimilation into the American culture

_____ Social adjustment, manners, and discipline

_____ Favorable self-concept

_____ Athletics
_____ Self-actualization
_____ Academic training
_____ Citizenship training
_____ Practical vocational training
_____ Occupational training and aspiration
_____ Chicano (Mexican American) studies
_____ Motivation and inspiration to better their socioeconomic status
_____ Other, please specify ______________________________

____

21. According to your experience, how do the Mexican American pupils at Coyote School compare with the pupils from, say, X or Y on the following characteristics? (Check appropriate box)

	Same	Inferior	Superior
Discipline			
Motivation			
Manners			
Academic performance			
Extracurricular activity performance			
Athletics			
Leadership			
Curiosity			
Educational aspiration			
Occupational aspiration			
Future orientation			
Attention, ability to follow instructions			
Hobbies			
Future success likelihood			
Affection			
Hostility			
Happiness			
Interest in school			
Valuing of education			

22. What are some of the most difficult problems that you must cope with in your work and teaching at Coyote School?

____

____

____

____

____

23. Suppose you were completely free to choose for yourself from the following occupations. Consider the education, training, income, power and prestige attached to each of the occupations. Please rank-order these occupations according to what YOU consider to be each's desirability for you.

_____ baseball player
_____ carpenter
_____ clerk in a store
_____ college professor
_____ farm worker
_____ housewife
_____ janitor
_____ manager of a small store
_____ medical doctor
_____ nun
_____ nurse
_____ owner of a small factory
_____ policeman or policewoman
_____ president of a bank
_____ priest
_____ public school teacher
_____ state governor
_____ technician
_____ U.S. Senator

24. Please think about the extent of parent-teacher communication over the past four months. Indicate the estimated frequency that YOU communicated personally and on your own initiative with the parents, or vice versa, concerning the pupils and their schooling. Please disregard the regular parent-teacher conferences arranged by the school in your calculations.

	Subject	Language	Frequency
Communication initiated by yourself through:			
- letters			
- memos			
- notices			
-telephone calls			
- oral (through children)			
- personal contact			
- inviting or calling on the parents			
- home visits			
- school-community liaison			

==

Communication initiated by members of the community through:			
- letters			
- memos			
- telephone calls			
- personal visits			
- children			
- collective actions			
- calling school personnel to community-wide gatherings			
- conference meetings			
- petitions			

24. Please list the changes, if any, that you think would be desirable at Coyote School.

    1.

    2.

    3.

    4.

    5.

    6.

    7.

    8.

    9.

    10.

25. Please comment, if you wish, on the purpose and conduct of this study; anything you would like to say will be appreciated.

THE END
THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION AND HELP

APPENDIX E

STUDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How old are you? __________ Are you a boy or a girl? __________

2. Your teacher's name ____

3. Are you a Mexican American (Chicano) or an Anglo (American)? _____

4. Where were you born? ____

5. How long has your family lived in Hidalgo? __________

6. How long has your family lived in the U.S.? __________

7. How many people are there in your family? __________

8. What is your father's occupation (what does he do)? __________
____

9. What is your mother's occupation (what does she do)? __________
____

10. How many years of school did your father have? (Check one below)
0 _____; 6 _____; 9 _____; 12 _____; 16 _____; more _____.

11. How many years of school did your mother have? (Check one below)
0 _____; 6 _____; 9 _____; 12 _____; 16 _____; more _____.

12. Do you have the following things at home (Check yes or no)

	YES	NO
car		
tv		
boat		
record player		
tape recorder		
pets (animals)		
telephone		
books		
magazines		
newspapers		
coffee table		
table lamps		
garden		
bicycle		

13. How many rooms are there in your house? ________; bathrooms? ________
14. Do your parents own or rent your house? __________
15. What language is spoken more often in your family? ________________
16. Do you eat Mexican or American food more often in your family? ______
17. Does your family listen to American or Mexican music more often? _____________
18. Does your family listen to Spanish (Mexican) radio stations or American more often? _____________
19. Does your family celebrate any Mexican fiesta[illegible]
20. Does your family celebrate any American holid[illegible] ______
21. What does your family do for fun and leisure? [illegible] ______

____

____

22. What are your interests (hobbies)? ______________________________

____

____

23. Are you working for money? Yes_____; no_____.

24. What do you do when you are not in school or studying? __________

____

____

____

25. How many hours a day do you study at home? ____________

26. Do you get help with school work at home when you need it? ______

27. If yes, who helps you most? ______________________________

____

28. Where in your house do you do your homework? __________________

29. Do you get help with school work at school when you need it? ____

30. If yes, who helps you most? ______________________________

____

31. How much help and encouragement do you receive about school from your parents? ______________________________

32. Do you help in the house? ________. If yes, what do you do?

____

____

33. Are you a member of any club, boy scouts, girl scouts, cheer leaders, student council, president of the class, or anything like that? __________ If yes, please name your position and give its title: ______________________________

34. Why are you going to school? Name 3 or more of your main purposes (goals) for going to school.

1. ____

____

2. ____

____

3. ____

____

35. Suppose you were free to decide, how many more years would you spend in school? How many more years would you study? (Check one of the following)

A. Finish elementary school _____. D. Finish college _____.

B. Finish junior high school ____. E. Finish more than

C. Finish senior high school ____. college _____.

36. Do you feel that your teachers and the school are helping you to achieve these goals? Yes ____; No ____. How? ________________

____

____

37. How do you think you are doing at school (Check one below)

Very well ________; Fair __________; Poorly ________.

38. What do you like most about school?

1. ____

____

2. ____

____

3. ____

____

39. What do you DISLIKE most about school?

1. ____

____

2. ______________________________

____

3. ______________________________

____

40. Name three things that you like best about a teacher

1. ______________________________

____

2. ______________________________

____

3. ______________________________

____

41. Name three things that you DISLIKE most about a teacher

1. ______________________________

____

2. ______________________________

____

3. ______________________________

____

42. Complete these sentences, please.

A teacher should be ______________________________

A teacher should NOT be ______________________________

43. School should be completely in Spanish: ________ Yes/No; in English ________ Yes/No;

in both ________ Yes/No.

44. School must teach about Mexico and Mexican Americans: ________ Yes/No

45. Do you have any special problems in the school? What are they?

____

____

____

46. Describe your MOST favorite teacher; the teacher you like most.

1. ______________________________
2. ______________________________
3. ______________________________

47. Describe your LEAST favorite teacher; the teacher you dislike most.

1. ______________________________
2. ______________________________
3. ______________________________

48. Think about the future, when you grow up, finish all the school, and are ready to start a job. In choosing a job or occupation you should consider the education and training it takes, the working conditions, as well as the money, power and prestige the job will bring you. The following question has 4 parts. Please answer all as fully, accurately and clearly as possible.

OCCUPATIONS

BASEBALL PLAYER
CARPENTER
CLERK IN A STORE
COLLEGE PROFESSOR
FARM WORKER
HOUSEWIFE
JANITOR
MANAGER OF A SMALL STORE
MEDICAL DOCTOR
NUN

NURSE
OWNER OF A SMALL FACTORY
POLICEMAN
PRESIDENT OF A BANK
PRIEST
PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHER
STATE GOVERNOR
TECHNICIAN
TRUCK DRIVER
U. S. SENATOR

Suppose you were completely free to choose the job (occupation) you really want and enjoy, which 3 jobs would you choose; and which would you NOT choose:

A. I would choose	B. I would not choose
1) ____________________	1) ____________________
2) ____________________	2) ____________________
3) ____________________	3) ____________________

C. Please give 3 reasons for why you would and would not choose these jobs.

3 reasons for those you would choose:

1) ____

2) ____

3) ____

D. Reasons for those you would NOT choose:

1) ____

2) ____

3) ____

49. Do you ever talk about education, the future, and jobs with anyone? Yes ____; No _____. If yes, which of the following people do you talk to most? (Check one of the following)

_____ my parents

_____ my friends

_____ my teachers

THE END

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

APPENDIX F

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE INSTRUCTIONAL/ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF

1. Please describe briefly your best "model" student as well as your worst "problem" student.

2. What kind of life goals do you have in mind for your students?

3. Do you think that your goals are shared by the children, parents, and the American society?

4. Do you think that the life goals of Mexican American children are different from those of most children in the American society? What are the differences?

5. If this is a pluralistic society, how does the school fit in?

6. How do you think the school influences the aspiration of the students?

7. How do the Mexican Americans fit into the U.S. society?

8. How do you think being a Mexican American affects aspiration, mobility, and expectations?

9. Do you think that education alone can affect socioeconomic status? Especially of Mexican Americans?

10. What do you think are some of the assets or liabilities the Mexican American child brings to school? How does this differ from what the Anglo child brings?

11. How many of your students are below grade level?

12. What have been some of your most satisfying moments in your educational endeavors at Coyote?

13. What have been some of your most difficult and frustrating moments?

14. Please comment on the extent and pattern of professional and human relations among teachers, between teachers and the administration, between teachers and pupils, between the school and the community, between teachers and aides, and between Mexican American and Anglo staff in general.

15. What do you think of staff morale at Coyote?

16. What is your opinion about the auxiliary service people?

17. What do you think of the evaluation, feedback, rewards system at the school?

18. What do you think about the decision-making process at Coyote?

19. Do you feel that your ethnic, socio-economic origin and orientation is affecting your interaction with the Chicano pupils? How?

APPENDIX G

OCCUPATIONAL INTEREST INVENTORY

Please rank these occupations in the order in which you think most of your students would be engaged in 25-30 years from now.

_____ BASEBALL PLAYER

_____ CARPENTER

_____ CLERK IN A STORE

_____ COLLEGE PROFESSOR

_____ FARM WORKER

_____ HOUSEWIFE

_____ JANITOR

_____ MANAGER OF A SMALL STORE

_____ MEDICAL DOCTOR

_____ NUN

_____ NURSE

_____ OWNER OF A SMALL FACTORY

_____ POLICEMAN

_____ PRESIDENT OF A BANK

_____ PRIEST

_____ PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHER

_____ STATE GOVERNOR

_____ TECHNICIAN

_____ TRUCK DRIVER

_____ U.S. SENATOR

APPENDIX H

AN INVENTORY OF MEXICAN AMERICAN CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE SCHOOL

	Date	Place	No.	Freq.	Occas.	Partic.	Attitude of Participant
Mexican food served							
Spanish conversation							
-init. by sch. pers.							
-init. by Chic. pupils							
Mexican posters							
-cultural artifacts							
-decoration							
-signs							
-displays							
-clothes worn							
-fiestas celebrated							
-holidays observed							
-heroes honored							
-stories used							
-songs sung							
-music played							
-movies shown							
-slides, film strips, etc.							
No. of library books in Spanish							
-No. in Sp. re Mex. & M.A.							
-No. in Sp. re Hidalgo? No. Eng.							
-No. re M.A. hist. &/or cult. in class use							

	Date	Place	No.	Freq.	Occas.	Partic.	Attitude o Participan
Mex. Am. names given to places, classes							
-Mex. Am. names changed by teachers							
Announcements in Span.							
-illus. ref. to M.A. cul., etc.							
-M.A. objects made by pupils							
Mex. Am. games played							
-gifts exchanged							
-meetings conducted in Spanish							
-Instruction in Spanish							
-Span. communic. with parents							
-M.A. invited as resource people							

APPENDIX I

REPRESENTATIVE EXAMPLES OF THE SEVEN INTERACTION CATEGORIES FOR TEACHER-PUPIL TRANSACTION IN THE CLASSROOM

Praise and Reward from Teachers to Students

Teachers say to the students:

Sweetheart, Honey, and/or Dear
Thank you, (name)
I like the way (name) is thinking about what he's going to do.
I'd like to tell you how nicely you have been listening today, (name).
I am proud of (name).
Let me put a "happy face" (sign) on you.
You are a very good worker.
I like the way (name) is reading his book.
I like the way (name) or you are sitting and listening, please pass the papers out.
Please take this to the office.
You have been pretty nice, you be the class monitor for this week.
You were the best rester today, and so you get the crown.
You were very nice this morning, so you go wash your hands first.
You be the line leader.
I like the way (name) goes right to work.
(After children are talking out and others raised hands), I like hands.
Thank you (name) for working so quietly by yourself.
That's right.
I like the way you're sitting.
I am looking for a nice and quiet student who can take this to the office for me.
(Name) has a good start.
That looks very, very nice.
Good for you.
That's beautiful.
You are doing great work.
That's good.
Very good.
Wow!
That's a good idea.
I think that's beautiful.
You were a good worker and helper.

(Name) is an extra good listener.
This little girl is very good.
You people are doing such a good job by coming clean to school.
You guys are experts.
You have more answers than I have questions.
I like the way he is sitting quietly.
I can tell you are doing a good job.
Oh, good boy.
Very nice work, (name).
Good worker.
I like that.
(Name) remembers.
You are just too smart for me.
That's excellent.
This is a nice table.
This is a winner table.
Oh, we have a winner here.
Oh, how nice and quiet it is.
Thank you for working so nicely.
You are pretty good in math.
You be the team captain.
You be the group leader.

The teacher doing the following things to a student:

Giving candies
Patting someone on the head or shoulder
Hugging a child
Putting a child's work on the bulletin board
Giving triple A's
Giving a crown to the best rester
Showing slides or movies as reward
Assigning a child to be flag monitor
Giving an approving smile or nod, or both

Punishment from Teachers to Students

Teachers say to the students:

Shut up.
Mouths shut.
You tell him to shut up.
That's messy; I don't like that at all.
You are noisy.
You are not paying attention.
You don't respect me.
Shame on you.
(Name), you have no play today.
Put him in the "dog house."
Write, I will not forget my homework, 100 times.

Come on, (name), don't give me that garbage.
This nut.
You are an animal.
That is awful.
This is almost sad.
Both of you shut up.

The teacher doing the following things to a child:

Benching him
Keeping children in class during recess
Having the student put his nose against the wall and stand that way for 40 minutes
Sending a child to the back of the room or to a corner
Making a child sit on the floor
Isolating a child
Making a child clean his own writing from the wall
Grabbing a child by the arm and shaking him
Detaining a child after school
Having a student face the wall for five minutes for being late
Depriving a child of candies, happy faces, etc.
Kicking a student's desk
Hitting children with a book
Squeezing and pressing a child's arm to the point where it leaves a blue mark on it
Slapping a child; striking a child
Depriving a child of recess or P.E.; detaining a child at these times
Scolding a child verbally
The teacher frowns at a child.

Control and Management of Children

The teachers say to the students

Pick it up.
I am trying to hear your voice, speak up.
Go out.
(Name), I'm waiting for you; you are holding everyone up.
(Name), share this with (name).
I told you to sit down.
Clean your desks.
Cross your legs and put your hands in your lap.
We are not ready.
Sit in the back of the room.
I would like you to cross your legs and sit like nice Indians.
Turn over.
Put that in your pocket.
Sit up.
Sit down on the rug.

Eat your salad.
Clean up.
Come over here right now!
Get a book right now!
Read louder.
Sit straight in line.
Don't do that.
Leave that stapler alone.
Don't touch the microscopes.
Stay there.
(Name), over here!
We have to listen.
You come here and get it.
Get here; get in the middle.
I want a big, big circle.
Everyone back on the carpet, line up all over again.
Get ready.
Don't talk when I am talking.
I want that finished.
No, you may not go.
I am looking for people who are sitting like (name).
We are not leaving 'til that line gets straight.
Don't play with that.
Don't copy.
Are you boys studying?
Come on up.
(Name), get to work.
Hands down.
If you don't calm down, I am going to call your mom to come and get you.
The line is here.
Quit complaining, (name).
You have a hand, (Name).
Let's grow up and act like _____ graders.
Cut it out!
Watch it, (name)!
Bottoms on chairs.
Get busy!
Go away, you two.
Go out and start at the door.
Get with it!
No gum chewing.
You two are the ones with the biggest mouths, shut up!
There are some people here that I didn't have last year and who don't know what manners are.
Walk straight on the white line.
Walk straight on the crack.
Go stay outside.
Turn around.

Hands, please.
Shush!
Stop talking.
Give him the eraser.
Move your desk; move your chair.
Sit down.
Put your heads down.
Fold your hands.
Take your hat off.
Let's get going.
Let's get busy; get on with it.
Don't get silly.
Walk; don't run.
(Name), how are you doing?
Push your desk to the wall.
Go out and come in quietly again.
Get up and sit down all over again.
Let's all be polite and quiet when (name) speaks (reads).
Do you want to listen or make faces?
Quit that.
Come on, old man.
We're waiting for you, your majesty.
Grandma, what are you doing?
Do you want diapers, (name)?
Go write it like a boy.
Your place is always at the end of the line.
Get in line.
Get your book and go to room ____.
Please don't.
Throw that away.
Get that.
What are you doing?
What page are you on?
What is your problem?
Stay in your seat.
You don't do that.
Walk!
Sit over there.
Put those books away.
No talking; none.
Spread out.
Be quiet.
Wake up.
Face me.
Shut your mouth and keep it shut.
I am not going to talk to you the whole day.
Go back to your place.
Stop.
O.k.!
Just listen, Mr. (name).

One rule is broken today.
I wish you would do your work.
Hurry up.
You want to get A's, don't you?
You people aren't quiet. How do you expect A's?
That's enough.
What's going on today?
You are nasty today.
Wait.
Do you have wet diapers?
Cross your legs and fold your hands.
Move over here.
Lie on the floor.
Make a supercircle.
You are interrupting me.
Put your big shoe in your mouth.
Someone is talking.
Move your hand so I can see your mouth.
Get your size nine out of the way so I can go through.
Some of you are not listening.
Sit in the right writing position.
Someone is talking.
Where have you been?
You can do that later.
Behave like a young man.
If I can get that little boy to pay attention. . . .
No free play today because then you just wander around.

Teacher does the following things to a student

Shakes his or her head disapprovingly
Actually turns a child's head or chair
Has a child's desk near to the teacher's desk (that is, moves it there)
Isolates a child's desk
Grades behavior
Cites a child for breaking class rules
Whistles

Academic Prestigious Tasks

The teacher calls on a child for the following tasks:

To answer oral questions
To solve math problems on the board
To recite something
To complete sentences on the board
To help another child
To perform in plays, recitals, etc.

To share his or her answer with the class
To help another child with art
To show and tell
To name dates
To find a place on a map or globe

Non-Academic Prestigious Tasks

The teacher calls on a child to do the following tasks

To run a machine
To take things to the office
To take things to the learning center, library, teacher's room . . .
To pass out something to others
To collect something from others (including money)
To take attendance sheets to the office
To be the door monitor
To be the calendar monitor
To be the library person
To lead the pledge of allegiance
To write the date on the board
To decorate walls and black boards
To arrange books on shelves
To be team captain
To be in charge of sports equipment

Non-Academic, Non-Prestigious Tasks

The teacher calls on a student to do the following:

To pick stuff up from the floor
To push chairs under tables
To pull curtains
To open windows and doors
To erase blackboard
To feed class pets
To collect or distribute books, rulers, crayons, etc. in class

Non-Task Academic Interaction

Teacher helping one child, a group of children, or the entire class with school work such as solving math problems, handwriting, language, social studies, etc.

The child asks the teacher for help and the teacher answers the call.

The teacher spending anywhere from 30 seconds to 30 minutes helping a child or a group with their work.

Teacher checking everyone's work as a routine, like spelling, handwriting, or a contract.

The child raising questions about the homework.

The child asking the teacher how to spell a word.

Non-Task, Non-Academic Interaction

The child telling the teacher that his or her family:
- bought a new car, t.v., etc.
- went to the beach
- has a new dog, cat, horse, etc.
- is going to go to Mexico, Hawaii, etc., during Christmas
- does not like pets

A child relates something about himself, family, relatives, to the teacher, like: "my father is a mechanic," "my parents got very drunk last weekend," "my grandmother is visiting us," "I like football," etc.

When a child needs help with getting drinking water, tying his or her shoe laces, fixing his or her desk, sharpening a pencil, etc., and the teacher helps him or her.

When a child shows something to the teacher like a picture or some object.

When a child tells the teacher that he or she hates or loves the teacher.

When a child tells the teacher that he or she lost a book, a note, or the homework.

When the teacher is called upon to settle a fight.